A history of Alorese (Austronesian) combining linguistic and oral history

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CHAPTER 4

A sketch grammar of Alorese

4.1 Introduction

The Alorese community speaks an Austronesian language called Alorese, or in Indonesian *Bahasa Alor* (ISO 639-3: aol). It is the only Austronesian local language spoken in the Alor-Pantar archipelago. The other communities in the area use non-Austronesian languages which are linguistically grouped as the Timor-Alor-Pantar (TAP) languages (Holton et al. 2012; Holton & Robinson, 2014). Speakers of the TAP languages had already settled in the area around 3,000 years ago (Klamer, 2014:14; Pawley, 2005:100; Springs, 2011:516), which means they already inhabited the area long before the ancestors of the Alorese arrived. As discussed in the previous chapter, the ancestors of the Alorese people are migrants who arrived in the area of northeast Pantar around 600 years ago. Their language is closely related to the Western Lamaholot languages, a cluster within the Austronesian Flores-Lembata languages spoken just west of Pantar Island. It has been suggested that Alorese is typologically isolating as it lost some of the morphology it once shared with Lamaholot; and it has undergone structural innovations (Klamer, 2020; Moro, 2018; Moro and Fricke, 2020).

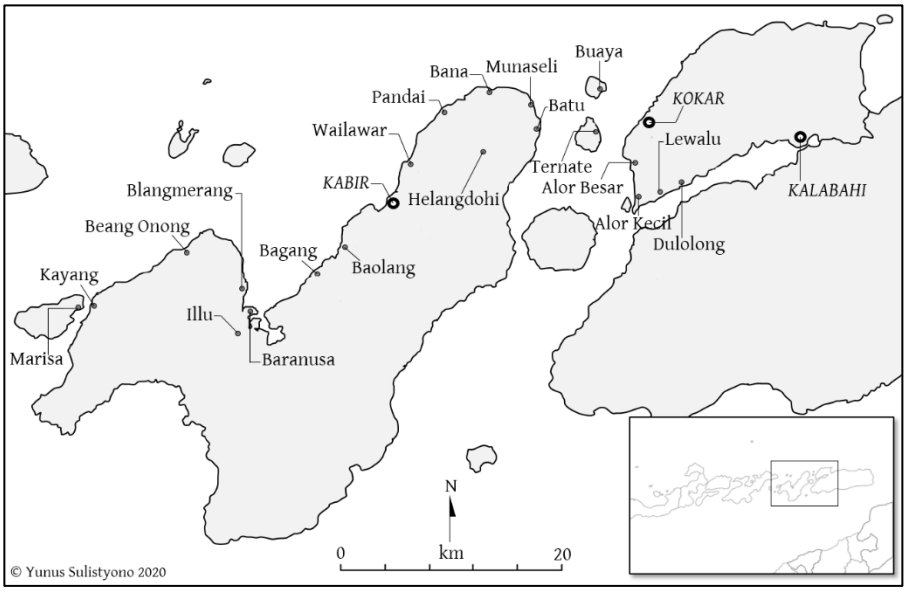
The purpose of this chapter is not only to familiarize readers with the grammar of Alorese, but also to serve as a form of documentation of the language, particularly the dialect spoken in northeast Pantar. In addition, this sketch serves as a tool to better understand the phonology of Alorese, in turn enabling the reconstruction of the proto-forms on the basis of dialect comparison. In this sketch, I describe Alorese phonology (§4.2), noun phrases

(§4.3), possessive constructions (§4.4), verbs (§4.5), clauses (§4.6), and lastly, sentence types and clause combinations (§4.7). In this introductory section, I provide information on the location and speakers (§4.1.1), data collection and processing (§4.1.2), and the conventions used in the transcription and glossing (§4.1.4).

4.1.1 Location and speakers

Alorese is spoken by about 25,000 people (Grimes et al. 1997:57) spreading across many locations around the northern coastal area of Pantar and Alor. Based on my survey fieldwork in 2018, I noted down at least twenty Alorese settlements, of which I surveyed fourteen. The twenty settlements are Marisa, Kayang, Beang Onong, Blangmerang, Baranusa, Illu, Bagang, Baolang, Wailawar, Pandai, Bana, Munaseli, Batu, Helangdohi, Ternate, Buaya, Alor Besar, Alor Kecil, Lewalu, and Dulolong. In addition to these villages, there are three major towns in the region where the Alorese community is mixed with speakers of the Alor-Pantar (AP) languages and migrants from outside Alor. These towns are Kabir, Kokar, and Kalabahi. Figure 4.1 shows the location of the twenty Alorese settlements and the major towns in this region.

Figure 4.1: The twenty Alorese settlements and the towns of Kabir, Kokar, and Kalabahi



This sketch grammar concerns an Alorese dialect spoken in three locations: Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir. These locations are part of the Pantar district (Indonesian: *Kecamatan Pantar*) under the Alor Regency (Indonesian: *Kabupaten Alor*) of the East Nusa Tenggara Province. Based on the Alor Regency statistics (Indonesian: *Badan Pusat Statistik Kabupaten Alor*; 2020:37), the population within the Pantar district numbers 10,235 people.

The Pantar district is accessible by boat from Kalabahi and Alor Kecil. From Kalabahi, a boat goes daily to the village of Kabir, while from Alor Kecil, a boat goes daily to Munaseli. The infrastructure in the district is still being developed. An access road connects villages along the coastal area, while smaller roads go up to the villages in the mountain. The only public transportation is in the form of a motorcycle (Indonesian: *ojek*). Trucks and cars are only owned by a few and are usually used to transport goods. In Kabir, Wailawar, and Pandai, electricity is produced by generators and is only available only from evening onwards, for twelve hours or more. In addition, electricity is also available during Friday afternoon and Sunday morning for religious activities.

The village name *Pandai* is an abbreviation of *pana dai* lit. 'walk.come', which means an activity of walking or an invitation for anyone to come to the village. The name *Wailawar* derives from the fact that the village is a merger of two older villages, *Waiwagang* and *Lawar.* The name *Lawar* comes from the word *plawak* 'wide' and the name *Waiwagang* from the words *wai* and *wagang* which have the meaning 'water source'. Kabir is a fairly large coastal town in the Pantar district and is the district capital. Here, the Alorese people live side by side with people from other areas of Pantar, along with migrants from Sulawesi and Java. The name Kabir is an adoption of the Arabic word *kabīr/akbar*, meaning 'big'.

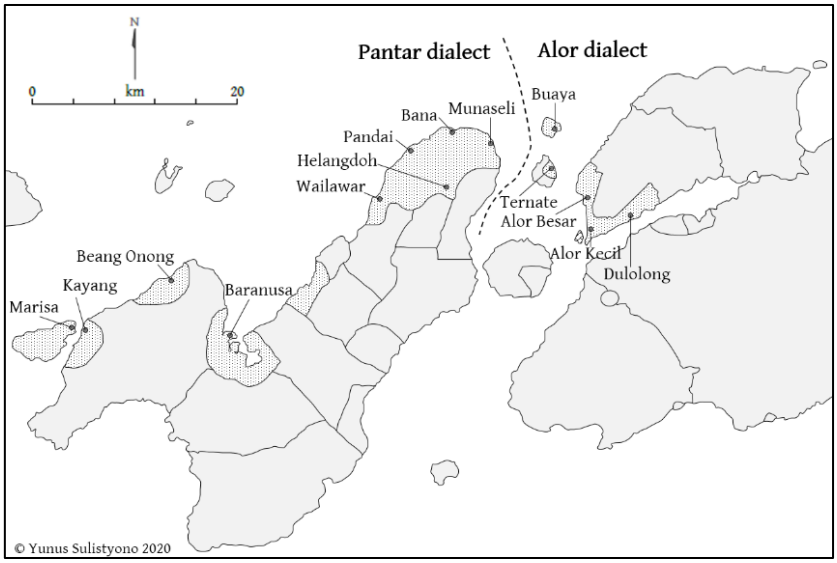
The inhabitants of Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir are mainly fishermen and farmers. Small numbers of the villagers are traders and government officials. The younger generation prefers to go to bigger cities, such as Kalabahi (the capital of the Alor Regency) or Kupang (the provincial capital) for work or to pursue higher education. Some have even migrated to Sulawesi and Java in search of better prospects.

The village of Pandai is among the oldest villages of the Alorese community (cf. §3.4.4). The locals believe that their ancestors were migrants from 'Java' who came to Pantar in around the fourteenth century (cf. §3.3). These 'Javanese' migrants then merged with the local Pantarese who inhabited the island long before their arrival. Subsequently, intermarriage, trade, and territory expansions have led this group to grow into a larger community of Alorese, extending from villages in west Pantar to the regency capital, Kalabahi.

The Alorese speakers on Pantar, especially those who settled in the northeast villages, call their language *Basa Senaing* 'local language' (Indonesian: *Bahasa Daerah*). *Basa Senaing* refers to the Alorese language in general, including the dialect spoken in west Pantar and on the Alor Peninsula. Another term for the language is *tutu kedire* 'speak language' or 'to speak the local language' (Indonesian: *omong bahasa daerah*). In addition, the locals also refer to the Alorese dialect spoken on the Alor Peninsula as *Basa Alor* 'Alor language' (Indonesian: *Bahasa Alor*) which is then used as the cover term for the Alorese language.

There are two dialects of Alorese, the Pantar dialect and the Alor dialect (see Figure 4.2). These dialects differ mainly in their phonology and lexicon. An example of this is the use of pronouns; the Pantar dialect can use either *ro* or *no* for the third person singular pronoun, while the Alor dialect mainly uses *no* for this purpose. The local perception of the differences between the dialects also concerns politeness while using the language; in particular the Pantar dialect is perceived as less polite than the Alor dialect. In addition, it is possible for a speaker of one dialect to have some difficulty understanding another dialect. For example, a certain young speaker from Alor Besar found it difficult to translate sentences of a dialect spoken in Marisa (although he did eventually succeed with careful study and the help of older speakers). This is because some speakers of certain dialects have a tendency to shorten words, which diminishes mutual intelligibility with speakers of other dialects.

Figure 4.2: The Pantar dialect and the Alor dialect



4.1.2 Data collection and processing

The data underpinning this grammar sketch are mainly drawn from my fieldwork in 2020. This fieldwork was conducted in Pandai, Wailawar, and Kabir. These three locations were chosen because, based on oral history (cf. Chapter 3), the area of northeast Pantar appeared to be the location of the earliest Alorese settlements around six centuries ago (cf. §2.4.2). Based on this finding, I expected that the Alorese variety in this area would be more conservative compared to other areas settled more recently.

The fieldwork in Pantar was undertaken for a total of three months, resulting in a collection of thirty two recordings with a total combined length of 2 hours and 14 minutes. All recordings are in digital MP4 format. Table 4.1 provides the details of each recording.

Table 4.1: Recordings from the 2020 fieldwork

Village	Video unique identifier	Citation code	Speaker(s) & their age
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_10_stories_rkb-01	aolys_ST/RKB_1	1 female (38)
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_10_stories_rkb-02	aolys_ST/RKB_2	
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_10_stories_rkb-03	aolys_ST/RKB_3	
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_10_stories_rkb-04	aolys_ST/RKB_4	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-01	aolys_ST/SKA_1	1 male (73)
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-02	aolys_ST/SKA_2	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-03	aolys_ST/SKA_3	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-04	aolys_ST/SKA_4	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-05	aolys_ST/SKA_5	
Pandai	aolys_2020_03_28_stories_ska-06	aolys_ST/SKA_6	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-01	aolys_CV/MMS_1	3 females (38, 44, unknown)
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-02	aolys_CV/MMS_2	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-03	aolys_CV/MMS_3	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-04	aolys_CV/MMS_4	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-05	aolys_CV/MMS_5	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-06	aolys_CV/MMS_6	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-07	aolys_CV/MMS_7	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-08	aolys_CV/MMS_8	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-09	aolys_CV/MMS_9	
Pandai	aolys_2020_06_30_conversation_memasak-10	aolys_CV/MMS_10	

Village	Video unique identifier	Citation code	Speaker(s) & their age
Pandai	aolys_2020_07_02_conversation_hari_pasar-01	aolys_CV/HP_1	1 female (38), 1 male (37)
Wailawar	aolys_2020_03_31_stories_dja-01	aolys_ST/DJA_1	1 male (66)
Wailawar	aolys_2020_03_31_stories_dja-02	aolys_ST/DJA_2	
Wailawar	aolys_2020_03_31_stories_dja-03	aolys_ST/DJA_3	
Wailawar	aolys_2020_03_31_stories_dja-04	aolys_ST/DJA_4	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-01	aolys_ST/HMD_1	1 female (28)
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-02	aolys_ST/HMD_2	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-03	aolys_ST/HMD_3	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-04	aolys_ST/HMD_4	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_hmd-05	aolys_ST/HMD_5	
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_ltf-01	aolys_ST/LTF_1	1 female (48)
Kabir	aolys_2020_06_28_stories_ltf-02	aolys_ST/LTF_2	

In addition to the data collected during the fieldwork in 2020, I use recordings from my 2018 fieldwork in the village of Wailawar. Table 4.2 lists the details of the 2018 recordings used in this chapter.

Table 4.2: Recordings used in this chapter from the 2018 fieldwork in the Wailawar village

Video unique identifier	Citation code	Speaker
aolys_Wailawar_2018_05_21_surrey_01001-01	aolys_SR/HJW_1	1 female (48)
aolys _Wailawar_2018_05_21_surrey_01001-02	aolys_SR/HJW_2	
aolys _Wailawar_2018_05_21_frog_story_01001-01	aolys_FS/HJW_1	
aolys _Wailawar_2018_05_21_core_wordlist_01001-01	aolys_CWL/HJW_1	
aolys _Wailawar_2018_05_21_extended_wordlist_01001-01	aolys_EWL/HJW_1	

Besides data from my own fieldwork, I also make use of the recorded materials collected by Moro (2016b) during her fieldwork on Pantar in 2016.[14] These additional recordings are used because they were collected in the village of Pandai; that is, in the same location as my own data collection. Table 4.3 provides details of the recordings made by Moro that are used in this chapter.

[14] This material is available from the MPI language Archive in Nijmegen, the Netherlands, at https://hdl.handle.net/1839/8e2e2262-0590-4a22-86a2c87ec87bfbaa.

Table 4.3: Recording materials by Moro (2016b) used in this chapter

Village	Type	Length (min)	Citation code	Speaker
Pandai	Frog story	10:48	aolfm_FS/MDP_1	
Pandai	Pronominal marking	17:04	aolfm_PM/MDP_1	1 female
Pandai	Stories	02:15	aolfm_ST/MDP_1	(42)
Pandai	Surrey stimuli	12:04	aolfm_SR/MDP_1	
Pandai	Frog story	09:04	aolfm_FS/MFS_1	
Pandai	Pronominal marking	12:40	aolfm_PM/MFS_1	1 female
Pandai	Stories	01:13	aolfm_ST/MFS_1	(57)
Pandai	Surrey stimuli	10:00	aolfm_SR/MFS_1	
Pandai	Frog story	07:03	aolfm_FS/MMN_1	
Pandai	Pronominal marking	11:37	aolfm_PM/MMN_1	1 female
Pandai	Stories	15:24	aolfm_ST/MMN_1	(67)
Pandai	Surrey stimuli	10:45	aolfm_SR/MMN_1	

All recordings were transcribed using the ELAN linguistic annotation software.[15] The transcription process involved myself, as the main researcher, and native speakers of Alorese; generally, these were the same speakers who featured in the recording. Following transcription in ELAN, I exported the data as .eaf files, which I was then able to import into FLEx.[16] A FLEx project contains a lexical database and a text corpus, together with glossing and translation. In my FLEx corpus, texts were glossed and translated into Indonesian, while English translation was used when adding information to the lexical database.

The FLEx project for this chapter is named 'The Pantar-Alorese corpus'. This corpus essentially contains all the recordings listed in Table 4.1, Table 4.2, and Table 4.3. The data from my 2018 and 2020 fieldwork is archived at https://dataverse.nl/dataset.xhtml?persistentId=doi:10.34894/APQDTX. From this corpus, I obtained a lexical database of about 1,400 Alorese lexical entries. A short dictionary of Alorese based on this corpus is available in Appendix B of this dissertation.

[15] ELAN is a linguistic annotation software produced by the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, The Language Archive, Nijmegen, The Netherlands, accessible at https://tla.mpi.nl/tools/tla-tolls/elan (Wittenburg et al. 2006).

[16] FLEx is a free software provided by SIL International and is accessible at https://software.sil.org/fieldworks. This software allows user to build corpus with glossings and translations that are connected to a lexical database.

4.1.3 Citation codes

Citation codes refer to the codes used to cite examples in this chapter. The codes for each recording are indicated in Table 4.1, Table 4.2, and Table 4.3 above. An example of a citation code is aolys_ST/HMD_1. It contains the Alorese Glottolog code *aol* and my initial *ys*, followed by an abbreviation referring to the type of recording, ST (stories) and the initials of the speaker. The number at the end indicates the number of recording within the same section of the elicitation process. In addition, I take examples from my personal fieldnotes; these are indicated with the abbreviation FN. A list of all the abbreviations is provided on page xv.

4.1.4 Transcription and glossing conventions

All examples in this sketch grammar are transcribed using either the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) or a conventional orthographic, in which most characters represent a single phoneme each. The IPA transcription may be displayed phonemically (/.../) or phonetically ([...]). Abbreviations in glosses follow the Leipzig glossing rules, with additional modifications where necessary. All abbreviations and their meanings are also given in the list of abbreviations on page xv.

4.2 Phonology

4.2.1 Consonants

Alorese has seventeen phonemic consonants, displayed in Table 4.4. Where the orthographic representation of a sound differs from the phonemic IPA symbols, this is presented alongside the corresponding phoneme in angle brackets <...>.

Table 4.4: Consonant inventory of Alorese

	Bilabial		Coronal		Velar		Glottal
Plosive	p	b	t	d	k	g <g>	ʔ <'>
Nasal		m		n	ŋ <ng>		
Approximant		w					
Fricative		(f)	s				h
Affricate				ʤ <j>			
Trill				r			
Lateral				l			

The plosives appear in voiceless-voiced pairs, /p b/, /t d/, and /k g/, except for the glottal stop /ʔ/, represented orthographically as <'>. The three nasal phonemes are /m/, /n/, and /ŋ/.

The phoneme /w/ is listed in the bilabial column, but there is in fact free variation, with some speakers producing a voiced fricative [v] or bilabial approximant [w]. The fricative /f/ appears marginally in my Alorese corpus (Pantar dialect) and is only attested in one lexeme, that is *fiti* /fiti/ 'to shoot with slingshot'. The marginal status of the phoneme /f/ in my sample dialect is indicated in the table by placing it within brackets.[17]

The two fricatives /s/ and /h/ appear synchronically distinct, although /s/ is more marginal. Most of the lexemes that contain /s/ are loanwords, such as *sawa* 'rice field' (a Malay loanword *sawah* 'field'), *mesia* 'human' (a Malay loanword *manusia* 'human'), and *oras* 'hour' (a loanword originating from Portuguese, *hora* 'hour'). There are only a few native words that have /s/, such as *seru* 'to see' and *wisu* 'few'. The affricate /ʤ/ is orthographically represented as <j>, as in *ojo* 'wave'. Finally, Alorese has two phonemic liquids, the voiced alveolar trill /r/ and the voiced lateral /l/.

Some Alorese consonants can be realized as geminates in intervocalic position, as in *gadong* [ˈgad:oŋ] 'break (rope)'. Klamer (2011:30) suggests that this consonant lengthening usually occurs when words are uttered in isolation, such as in a word list. Geminates in Alorese are not phonemic and gemination is conditioned by penultimate stress and a preceding vowel that goes back to Proto-Alorese (PAL) schwa *ə.

The phonemic status of the consonants in Table 4.4 is demonstrated in minimal pairs given in the following sections.

4.2.1.1 Minimal pairs for plosives /p, t, k,/ and /b, d, g/

Minimal pairs of plosives in Alorese are shown in Table 4.5. Voiced plosives do not occur in word-final position. Asterisk symbol (*) indicates ungrammatical forms.

[17] In the Alor dialect, spoken on the Alor Peninsula, the fricative /f/ appears as a substitute for the phoneme /w/. That is, while the Pantar dialect uses /w/ as in *wata* 'corn', the Alor dialect uses /f/ as in *fata* 'corn'. There is a clear distinction in the use of fricative [f] and approximant [w] between the Alor dialect and the Pantar dialect (cf. §5.8). The dialect described in this sketch has [w] rather of [f]. In essence, these are two different phonemes, but they are historically related.

Table 4.5: Voicing contrast between plosives

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/p/ - /b/	initial	/**p**a.na/	'walk'
		/**b**a.na/	'forest; mud'
	intervocalic	/kɛ.**p**a/	'ground nut'
		/kɛ.**b**a/	'wall'
	final	/la**p**/	'wipe'
		*la**b**	
/t/ - /d/	initial	/**t**a.kɛ/	'lizard; gecko'
		/**d**a.kɛ/	'thorn; sharp; evil'
	intervocalic	/ti.**t**ɛ/	'1PL'
		/ti.**d**ɛ/	'stand'
	final	/u.ra**t**/	'vein'
		*ura**d**	
/k/ - /g/	initial	/**k**a.tɛ/	'that; over there'
		/**g**a.tɛ/	'itchy'
	intervocalic	/ta.**k**ɛ/	'lizard; gecko'
		/ta.**g**ɛ/	'sweet'
	final	/ki.pɛ**k**/	'slim (person)'
		*kipe**g**	

4.2.1.2 Minimal pairs for /ʔ/ contrasted with zero and /k/

In my Alorese corpus, glottal stop does not appear phonemically in initial position. However, vowel-initial words may start with a phonetic glottal stop, as in *anang* [ʔa.naŋ] 'child'. Table 4.6 provides contrasts between the glottal stop and zero, while Table 4.7 provides contrasts between the glottal stop and /k/ in applicable positions. Most contrasts with the glottal stop are near-minimal pairs.

Table 4.6: Contrast between glottal stop and zero

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/ʔ/ - Ø	initial	*ʔanaŋ	
		/a.naŋ/	'small; child'
	intervocalic	/kaʔ.iŋ/	'finished; already'
		/ka.i/	'ADV; this; that'
	final	/la.kuʔ/	'fold'
		/la.kɔ/	'civet cat'

Table 4.7: Contrast between glottal stop and /k/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/ʔ/ - /k/	initial	*ʔapuŋ	
		/**k**a.puŋ/	'mosquitos'
	intervocalic	/na.ʔaŋ/	'3SG.POSS'; 'POSS'
		/na.**k**a/	'jackfruit'
	final	/na.muʔ/	'fly (n.)'
		/ra.mu**k**/	'root'

4.2.1.3 Minimal pairs for nasals /m, n, ŋ/

Table 4.8 provides contrasts between the nasals /m/ and /n/, while Table 4.9 provides contrasts for /n/ and /ŋ/. The nasals /m/ and /n/ cannot appear in final position in native Alorese words. Several loan words have final /m/ or /n/, such as *wanan* < Indonesian *kanan* 'right side'. Furthermore, the velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot appear in initial position in Alorese.

Table 4.8: Contrast between the nasals /m/ and /n/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/m/ - /n/	initial	/**m**ɛ.aŋ/	'red'
		/**n**ɛ.aŋ/	'seed'
	intervocalic	/da.**m**ɛ/	'suck'
		/da.**n**ɛ/	'hit; pound'
	final	*a.na**n**	
		*a.na**m**	

Table 4.9: Contrast between the nasals /n/ and /ŋ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/n/ - /ŋ/	initial	/**n**i.ha/	'fence'
		*__ŋ__i.ha	
	intervocalic	/i.**n**a/	'mother'
		/i.**ŋ**a/	'think; study'
	final	*a.na**n**	
		/a.na**ŋ**/	'small; child'

4.2.1.4 Minimal pairs for fricatives /s, h/

Table 4.10 provides contrasts between the fricatives /s/ and /h/. As the distinction between /s/ and /h/ is not very prominent in Alorese (/s/ is marginal, §4.2.1), examples below show cases where the two phonemes are clearly distinguished.

Table 4.10: Contrast between the fricatives /s/ and /h/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/s/ - /h/	initial	/**s**a.ru/	'burn'
		/**h**a.ru/	'who'
	intervocalic	/pa.**s**a/	'shoot'
		/pa.**h**a/	'hold; grasp'
	final	/a.lu**s**/	'good(-looking)'
		/a.lu**h**/	'mortar'

4.2.1.5 Minimal pairs for affricate /ʤ/

Table 4.11 shows the phonemic contrast between the affricate /ʤ/ and the voiced plosive /d/. In Alorese, neither phoneme is attested in final position.

Table 4.11: Contrast between postalveolar /ʤ/ and alveolar /d/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/ʤ/ - /d/	initial	/**ʤ**ɔ.u/	'priest (in Islam)'
		/**d**o/	'3sg (Malay)'
	intervocalic	/la.**ʤ**a/	'sail (n.)'
		/la.**d**a/	'storage house'
	final	*a.la**ʤ**	
		*a.la**d**	

4.2.1.6 Minimal pairs for approximant /w/

Table 4.12 shows the phonemic contrast between the approximant /w/ and the voiced plosive /b/. Neither phoneme can appear in final position in Alorese.

Table 4.12: Contrast between approximant /w/ and voiced plosive /b/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/w/ - /b/	initial	/**w**ak/	'pull'
		/**b**ak/	'heavy'
	intervocalic	/nɔ.**w**aŋ/	'fabric; cloth'
		/nɔ.**b**aŋ/	'hole'
	final	*a.na**w**	
		*a.na**b**	

4.2.1.7 Minimal pairs for liquids /l, r/

Table 4.13 shows the contrast between the liquids /l/ and /r/ with their minimal pairs. The two phonemes are clearly contrastive in all three positions.

Table 4.13: Contrast between the liquids /l/ and /r/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/l/ - /r/	initial	/**l**a.ta/	'field'
		/**r**a.ta/	'hair'
	intervocalic	/ku.**l**a/	'moss'
		/ku.**r**a/	'cassava'
	final	/na.ka**l**/	'embers'
		/na.ka**r**/	'(thatch) roof'

4.2.2 Vowels

Table 4.14 shows the vowels in Alorese.

Table 4.14: Vowel inventory of Alorese

	Front	Central	Back
High/close	i		u
Mid	ɛ < e >		ɔ < o >
Low/open		a	

Alorese has two high vowels, which include the unrounded front vowel /i/ and the rounded back vowel /u/. The mid vowels include the unrounded open-mid /ɛ/, which is represented orthographically with <e>, and the rounded close-mid /o/. The central vowel [ə] appears as an allophone of /ɛ/. The phoneme /ɔ/ has a variant [o], and both are represented orthographically as <o>. Finally, Alorese has one low central vowel, /a/. In the following, I illustrate contrasts between the Alorese vowels with minimal pairs.

4.2.2.1 Minimal pairs of high vowels /i, u/ contrasted with /ɛ, ɔ/

Here, I show the phonemic status of the high vowels /i/ and /u/ in Alorese. The two phonemes are compared with their phonetically close counterparts /ɛ/ and /o/. Contrasts between these vowels are presented below as follows: Table 4.15 shows the contrast between /i/ and /ɛ/, Table 4.16 shows the contrast between /u/ and /o/, and Table 4.17 shows the contrast between /i/ and /u/. These contrasts show that the high vowels /i/ and /u/ are clearly contrastive.

Table 4.15: Contrast between the front vowels /i/ and /ɛ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/i/ - /ɛ/	initial	/**i**.kaŋ/	‘fish’
		/**ɛ**.kaŋ/	‘garden; field’
	medial	/b**i**.hɛ/	‘borrow’
		/b**ɛ**.hɛ/	‘hit; pound’
	final	/ta.n**i**/	‘cry’
		/ta.n**ɛ**/	‘waving’

Table 4.16: Contrast between the back vowels /u/ and /ɔ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/u/ - /o/	initial	/**u**.taŋ/	‘forest’
		/**ɔ**.taŋ/	‘swing’
	medial	/b**u**.a/	‘to sail’
		/b**ɔ**.a/	‘hit; slap’
	final	/nu.h**u**/	‘mouth’
		/nu.h**ɔ**/	‘war; battle’

Table 4.17: Contrast between the high vowels /i/ and /u/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/i/ - /u/	initial	/**i**.ɔ/	'shark'
		/**u**.a/	'betel nut'
	medial	/ba.**i**ŋ/	'wait'
		/ba.**u**ŋ/	'wake up'
	final	/ha.**i**/	'sweep'
		/ha.**u**/	'come down'

4.2.2.2 Minimal pairs of mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/

Table 4.18 shows the contrast between the mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/.

Table 4.18: Contrast between the mid vowels /ɛ/ and /ɔ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/ɛ/ - /o/	initial	/**ɛ**.kaŋ/	'garden'
		/**ɔ**.taŋ/	'swing'
	medial	/b**ɛ**.a/	'big'
		/b**ɔ**.a/	'hit; pound'
	final	/na.m**ɛ**/	'sweat'
		/na.m**ɔ**/	'broom'

4.2.2.3 Minimal pairs with the low vowel /a/

The low vowel /a/ contrasts with the mid vowel /ɔ/, as shown in Table 4.19.

Table 4.19: Contrast between the low vowel /a/ and the mid vowel /ɔ/

Phonemes	Position	Minimal pair	Gloss
/a/ - /o/	initial	/**a**.ta/	'person'
		/**ɔ**.ta/	'swing'
	medial	/h**a**.ru/	'who'
		/h**ɔ**.ru/	'sew'
	final	/la.d**a**/	'storage house'
		/la.d**ɔ**/	'chase'

4.2.3 Allophones

Table 4.20 below summarizes the allophones in Alorese.

Table 4.20: Allophones in Alorese

Phoneme	Orthography	Allophone	Position/condition
/ɛ/	< e >	[ɛ]	All positions
		[ə]	Stress in following syllable
/ɔ/	< o >	[ɔ]	All positions
		[o]	free variation

The mid vowel [ə] appears as an allophone of /ɛ/ when preceding a stressed syllable. In disyllabic words, penultimate schwa [ə] is conditioned by stress in the ultimate syllable, as in *peku* [pəˈku] 'to cut' and *kete* [kəˈtɛ] 'that'. In trisyllabic words, the antepenultimate schwa is conditioned by the stress in the penultimate syllable; if the penultimate syllable is stressed, the preceding vowel is realized as schwa, as in *benoteng* [bə.ˈnɔ.tɛŋ] 'wave' and *penuhung* [pə.ˈnu.huŋ] 'smoke'. The phoneme /ɔ/ has a variant [o], which is in free variation with [ɔ]; that is, [o] occurs also in all positions, but the variant [ɔ] is more frequently used.

4.2.4 Phonotactics

4.2.4.1 Phoneme distributions

Here, I present the permitted combinations of phonemes in Alorese. A positive sign (+) marks the permitted positions, while a minus sign (-) indicates the disallowed positions. The distributional constraints are summarized in (1).

(1) Distributional constraints of the Alorese consonants:
   a) The glottal stop /ʔ/ cannot appear in the syllable onset, or root-initial or final position.
   b) The voiced plosives /b, d, g/, fricatives /h, f/, affricate /ʤ/ and approximant /w/ cannot appear in the coda or root-finally.
   c) The nasals /m, n/ can appear in the coda but not root-finally.
   d) The velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot appear in the syllable onset or root-initially.

Table 4.21: Distributional constraints of consonants

	p	b	t	d	k	g	ʔ	m	n	ŋ	s	h	f	w	ʤ	r	l
Syllable level																	
onset	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
coda	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
Root level																	
initial	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
medial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
final	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+

The glottal stop /ʔ/ appears in syllable coda position, and at the root level only in word-medial and word-final positions. The voiced plosives /b, d, g/, fricatives /h, f/, affricate /ʤ/, and approximant /w/ are all disallowed in the coda and root-finally.

The nasals /m, n/ cannot appear in root-final position, but /ŋ/ can. All of the nasals can occur word-medially, but only /m, n/ can occur word-initially. Since Alorese does not allow /m, n/ to occur word-finally, all final nasals are realized as /ŋ/. For example, the Indonesian loanword *badan* is assimilated as *badang* [ˈba.daŋ] 'body', the Dutch word *rekenen* is assimilated as *rekeng* [ˈrɛkɛŋ] 'to count' and the Malay word *salam* is realized as *salang* [ˈsa.laŋ] 'greeting'. In coda position, the nasals /m, n/ are sometimes geminated, for example in *nam.mu* [ˈnam:u] 'six' and *an.nɛ* [ˈan:ɛ] 'sand'. This often happens when the words are uttered in isolation, such as in a wordlist.

The fricative /h/ cannot appear word-finally, except in a number of Malay loanwords, such as *bodoh* 'stupid'. The affricate /ʤ/, fricative /f/, and approximant /w/ are also disallowed word-finally. The distribution of the historically related phonemes /w/ and /f/ is the same in all dialects; that is the Pantar dialect uses /w/ and the Alor dialect uses /f/, but the distribution is likely the same.

4.2.4.2 Consonant clusters

Alorese has a number of consonant clusters that appear in word-initial onset position. When uttered slowly or in a careful manner, a non-phonemic schwa [ə] can be inserted. Table 4.22 provides an overview of the Alorese consonant clusters in the onset position. A consonant cluster that is not attested is marked with a dash (-).

Table 4.22: Onset consonant clusters in Alorese

C1 → C2 ↓	/p/	/b/	/t/	/k/	/g/	/s/	/m/
/t/	-	-	-	/kt/	-	-	-
/d/	-	-	-	/kd/	-	-	-
/w/	-	-	-	/kw/	-	-	-
/m/	-	-	/tm/	/km/	-	-	-
/n/	/pn/	-	-	/kn/	/gn/	-	/mn/
/l/	/pl/	/bl/	-	/kl/	-	/sl/	-
/r/	/pr/	/br/	/tr/	/kr/	-	-	-

The following generalizations apply regarding Alorese onset consonant clusters:

a) The first consonant of a cluster can be a plosive, /s/, or /m/.

b) The plosive /d/ cannot be the first consonant of a cluster.

c) The plosive /k/ is the most commonly used first consonant of a cluster.

d) The nasals and liquids are the most frequently used as the second consonant.

Table 4.23 contains examples of each consonant cluster along with the number of (unique) lexemes displaying each cluster found in my Alorese corpus. The consonant clusters in these words are part of the underlying form; that is, these words are underlyingly disyllabic and are distinct from trisyllabic forms.

Table 4.23: Consonant clusters with frequencies and examples

Cluster	Number of lexemes	Example	Gloss
/p/-initial			
/pn/	3	/pna.haŋ/	‘to sell’
/pl/	6	/pla.wa/	‘wide’
/pr/	2	/pra.gɛŋ/	‘to hold’
TOTAL	12		
/b/-initial			
/bl/	6	/blo.lok/	‘tall (people)’
/br/	2	/brɛ.ha/	‘to sow’
TOTAL	9		
/t/-initial			
/tm/	2	/tma.ka/	‘to steal’
/tr/	1	/tra.gaŋ/	‘spider’
TOTAL	3		
/k/-initial			
/kt/	1	/ktu.ka/	‘middle’
/kd/	1	/kda.bu/	‘gwang (tree)’
/kw/	6	/kwɛ.tiŋ/	‘lost’
/km/	4	/kma.pak/	‘to lay’
/kn/	6	/kno.pal/	‘fish trap’
/kl/	12	/kla.rak/	‘forehead’
/kr/	6	/kru.mok/	‘slave’
TOTAL	34		
/g/-initial			
/gn/	2	/gna.bɛŋ/	‘wall’
TOTAL	2		
/s/-initial			
/sl/	1	/sla.kaŋ/	‘to say’
TOTAL	1		
/m/-initial			
/mn/	6	/mni.pi/	‘thin (non-human)’
TOTAL	6		

The consonants /p, t, k, m/ used as the first consonant of a cluster, require further discussion. It is likely that some of these first consonants are fossilized

prefixes going back to proto-forms (Proto Flores-Lembata and Proto Malayo-Polynesian), as illustrated in Table 4.24 below.

Table 4.24: Sources of first consonant in consonant clusters

First consonant and example words		PFL (Fricke)	PMP (Blust & Trussel)	Gloss
p-	/pla.ɛ/	*plari	*pa-laRiw	'to run'
	/pra.gɛŋ/	#pehen	[...]	'to hold'
	/pla.wa/	[...]	*lawa	'wide'
t-	/tma.ka/	*t<əm>akav	*takaw	'to steal'
k-	/kwa.ɛ/	*vai	*bahi	'woman'
	/kna.mu/	*kə-namuk	*ñamuk	'fly (n.)'
	/kni.to/	*kənito	[...]	'forehead'
	/kpu.hor/	*pusər	*pusəj	'navel'
	/kla.kɛ/	*(kabe)laki	*laki	'man'
m-	/mni.pi/	*m-nipih-i	*ma-nipis	'thin'
	/mni.aŋ/	*məya	*ma-həyaq	'shy'
	/mna.ka/	#m<an>akap	[...]	'sorcerer'
	/mna.o/	*m-panau	*panaw	'tinea'

The initial consonants /p/ and /t/ can be considered fossilized prefixes as they have possible sources in Proto Malayo-Polynesian (PMP) *pa- 'causative prefix' and *ta- 'prefix marking spontaneous or involuntary action' (Blust & Trussel, 2016). An example from another language in the region that also shows fossilized affixes is *p-lari* 'run' in Sika (spoken on Flores). The consonant /k/ is also a fossilized prefix *k-* going back to PMP *ka- 'formative' (Blust, 2013:375). Examples from other languages in the region that show similar affixes are the Lamaholot words *ke-lake* 'man', *ke-wae* 'woman', *ke-puser* 'navel'. It has been shown by Klamer (2020:355) that these fossilized affixes in Alorese are originally complex forms, proven by comparing them with active derivational morphology in Lamaholot. Lastly, the initial consonant /m/ could possibly result from fossilized Proto Flores-Lembata (PFL) stative marker *m- (< PMP *ma-; Fricke, 2019:180), which goes back to PMP stative prefix *ma-. Examples from another Flores-Lembata language are *nau?* 'tinea' and *meaŋ* 'shy' in Sika.

In the Flores-Lembata languages, sequences of consonants are commonly attested in word-initial position. Fricke (2019:44) suggests that this phenomenon can be explained by the common loss of an unstressed antepenultimate vowel. Word-medially, consonant sequences mostly occur in

loanwords. They are divided by a syllable boundary, where the first consonant is the coda of the preceding syllable and the second consonant is the onset of the next syllable. Examples are *sambo* /sam.bɔ/ 'to help', *rongge* /rɔŋ.gɛ/ 'to dance', and *jamba* /ʤam.ba/ 'WC'.

4.2.4.3 Syllable structure

Most native Alorese words are disyllabic; such words make up around 82% of all lexemes in my database. Only 5% of all lexemes are monosyllabic, while 13% are trisyllabic. No quadrisyllabic words are attested in native Alorese words, except for compounds built from two stems that are lexicalized, such as *erepira* [ˈɛ.rɛ.pi.ra] 'when' < *oro* 'DEM' + *pira* 'how much', and *hakanai* [ˈha.ka.na.i] 'to go up' < *haka* 'climb' + *n-ai* '3SG-go'. In the following, I discuss monosyllabic, disyllabic, and trisyllabic words in Alorese.

Table 4.25 below shows the possible structures of Alorese monosyllabic words.

Table 4.25: Monosyllabic structure of Alorese words

Syllable structure	Count	Example	Gloss
CV	21	/gɔ/	'1SG'
CVC	9	/nɔŋ/	'with'
CCV	1	/krɛ/	'that; east'

The syllable structure CV is the most frequent and is commonly found in functional words, such as pronouns and particles. Only a few words from the non-functional words are monosyllabic. CV is also the minimal structure for monosyllabic roots. All roots have an onset C(C); monosyllabic roots with V onset are not attested.

In disyllabic words, the most frequent structures are CV.CV and CV.CVC, as shown in Table 4.26.

Table 4.26: Disyllabic structure of Alorese words

Syllable structure	Count	Example	Gloss
V.V	4	/u.a/	'betel nut'
V.CV	18	/a.hɔ/	'dog'
CV.V	30	/be.a/	'big'
CV.VC	24	/ba.iŋ/	'wait'
CV.CV	201	/be.hɛ/	'hit'
V.CVC	29	/a.laŋ/	'sound'
VC.CV	2	/aŋ.gɛ/	'coral reef'
CCV.V	7	/klɔ.u/	'seaward'
CCV.VC	2	/klu.aŋ/	'fresh (water)'
CCV.CV	27	/kni.tɔ/	'lizard'
CVC.CV	10	/biŋ.ku/	'hoe'
CV.CVC	149	/bi.nɛŋ/	'sister'
CCV.CVC	19	/glo.kɔr/	'round'
CCVC.CV	1	/pluŋ.ku/	'kickbox'
CVC.CVC	4	/maŋ.gɛr/	'necklace'

Disyllabic words with the structure CV.V containing two identical vowels may be realized as monosyllabic, as in *wuu* [ˈwuː] 'market' *baa* [ˈbaː] 'heavy', and *paa* [ˈpaː] 'four'. They are underlyingly disyllabic, but monosyllabic on the surface. Therefore, the long vowels are not phonemic, but can be regarded as double vowels. This also applies to CV.VC words that contain two identical vowels, such as *baaŋ* [ˈbaːŋ] 'swollen' and *tuuŋ* [ˈtuːŋ] 'year'.

Disyllabic words with CV.CV structure can be shortened and realized as monosyllabic words, such as *kate* which becomes *te* 'that', *lahe* which becomes *la* 'no; not', and *kana* which becomes *na* 'this; that'. This shortening is commonly found in adverbs or connectors. Not all shortenings of disyllabic words result in monosyllabic words. Some remain disyllabic, such as *klou* /klɔ.u/ which becomes *lou* /lɔ.u/ 'seaward' and *tangge* /taŋ.gɛ/ which becomes *tage* /ta.ge/ 'sweet'.

Trisyllabic words in Alorese are commonly CV.CV.CV or CV.CV.CVC. Table 4.27 below lays out the trisyllabic structures of Alorese words.

Table 4.27: Trisyllabic structure of Alorese words

Syllable structure	Count	Example	Gloss
CV.CV.V	11	/kɛ.wa.ɛ/	'woman; wife'
CV.CV.VC	4	/kɛ.lu.aŋ/	'cold'
V.CV.CVC	1	/a.si.kəl/	'shrimp'
CV.CV.CV	40	/ta.pi.na/	'starfish'
CV.CV.CVC	24	/tɛ.na.kar/	'roof'
CV.CVC.CVC	1	/ka.luŋ.kuŋ/	'hit; fist'

Trisyllabic words with the syllable structure CV.CV.CV or CV.CV.CVC that have phonetic schwa [ə] in the antepenultimate syllable can be realized as disyllabic when pronounced quickly. Some examples are *kewae* [kə.ˈwa.ɛ] which may also be realized as *kwae* [ˈkwa.ɛ] 'woman; wife'. As the realization with schwa is more common, I consider these words trisyllabic.

There are also several words that are trisyllabic and do not allow the vowel in the antepenultimate syllable to be reduced. These words are listed in Table 4.28; most are loanwords.

Table 4.28: Trisyllabic stems in Alorese

Trisyllabic stems	Gloss	
Loanwords		Origin
/bi.na.ta/	'animal'	< Indonesian *binatang* 'animal'
/mɛ.si.a/	'people; men'	< Indonesian *manusia* 'human'
/sa.pa.da/	'machete'	< Portuguese *espada* 'sword'
/sa.ban.tar/	'a moment'	< Indonesian *sebentar* 'a moment'
/sa.bɛ.aŋ/	'to worship'	< Indonesian *sembahyang* 'to pray'
/sa.ra.ma/	'sermon'	< Indonesian *ceramah* 'sermon'
/gɛ.rɛ.ʤa/	'church'	< Indonesian *gereja* 'church'
Others		
/tu.ra.iŋ/	'spear'	
/nu.wa.la/	'be a while ago; be some time ago''	
/hɛ.wa.i/	'who'	
/pa.da.i/	'divide; split'	
/mi.hu.a/	'fruit bat; flying fox'	

Trisyllabic stems from loanwords are sometimes realized as disyllabic, for example *sapada* becomes *pada* /pa.da/ 'machete'. The trisyllabic words that are categorized as 'Others' in Table 4.28 may also be historic compounds, such as the word *nuwala* 'be a while ago; be some time ago', which may be derived from PAL *noŋ 'and; with' and a stem *ala/alaŋ* 'voice'; and the word *hanai* 'go up', which may be derived from PFL *hakay 'to climb' and *n-ai* '3SG-go'.

4.2.4.4 Stress

Stress in Alorese is marked by higher pitch. If words are uttered in isolation, such as in a wordlist, stress almost always occurs on the penultimate syllable. However, when words are uttered in fast speech, initial syllables can be reduced and the stress moves to another syllable. This phonetic variation due to the reduction of syllables can be seen in words such as *lara* 'day; sun' . When uttered in isolation, the stress is on the penultimate syllable [ˈla.ra], but when uttered in fast speech, the penultimate vowel becomes schwa as in [lə.ˈra], or even becomes barely audible, as in [lᵊ.ˈra]. The penultimate syllable is reduced, therefore stress falls on the final syllable. Table 4.29 below shows more examples of penultimate syllable reduction in disyllabic words, causing the stress to land on the ultimate syllable.

Table 4.29: Stress on disyllabic words uttered in isolation and in fast speech

	Phonemic	Phonetic	
a.	/la.hɛ/	[ˈla.hɛ]	'NEG'
		[lᵊ.ˈhɛ]	
b.	/ma.to/	[ˈma.to]	'frog'
		[mᵊ.ˈto]	

When the phonetic schwa occurs in the antepenultimate syllable of a trisyllabic word, the stress remains on the penultimate syllable, even when the word is uttered in fast speech, as shown in Table 4.30 below.

Table 4.30: Stress on trisyllabic words uttered in isolation and in fast speech

	Phonemic	Phonetic	
a.	/kɛ.wa.ɛ/	[kə.ˈwa.ɛ]	‘woman; wife’
		[ˈkwa.ɛ]	
b.	/kɛ.lu.aŋ/	[kə.ˈlu.aŋ]	‘cold’
		[ˈklu.aŋ]	
c.	/bɛ.ri.ŋi/	[bə.ˈri.ŋi]	‘shivering’
		[ˈbri.ŋi]	

In disyllabic words with a final consonant, free variation between penultimate and ultimate stress is observed. An example is *tahak* ‘ripe’ which can be pronounced [ˈta.hak] or [ta.ˈhak]. The ultimate stress in [ta.ˈhak] can be explained through the heavy final syllable in the CVC structure, which causes the stress to land on the ultimate syllable. Moreover, when pronounced in a fast manner, the penultimate syllable is reduced, as in [tᵊ.ˈhak].

In compounds, stress remains on the penultimate syllable and the primary stress of the compound coincides with the word stress of the first element of the compound. An example is *onong mara* [ˈɔ.nɔŋˌma.ra] ‘thirsty’, which is built up of *onong* [ˈɔ.nɔŋ] ‘inside’ and *mara* [ˈma.ra] ‘dry’.

4.2.5 Complex words

Complex words in Alorese are formed through reduplication, subject agreement on the verb, and compounding. The examples in (2) illustrate word formation through reduplication.

(2) a. /ki.laŋ~ki.laŋ/
kilang-kilang
RDP~slow
‘slowly; go slowly’ (aolys_EW/HJW-01)

b. /tu.ka~tu.ka/
tuka-tuka
RDP~middle
‘middle’ (aolys_EW/HJW-01)

c. /di.kɛ~di.kɛ/
dike-dike
RDP~good
'with care; be careful' (aolys_ST/HMD-01)

Reduplication is the only productive derivational morphological process in Alorese. The language has lost almost all of its derivational morphology since its split from Lamaholot around half a millennium ago (Klamer, 2011, 2012a; Moro, 2019).

The examples in (3) illustrate subject agreement on the verb. Alorese subject agreement is discussed further in Sections 4.4 and 4.5.

(3) a. *go* ***k-enung***
1SG 1SG-drink
'I drink.' (aolys20_FN)

b. *mo* ***m-enung***
2SG 2SG-drink
'You drink.' (aolys20_FN)

c. *ro* ***r-enung***
3SG 3SG-drink
'She drinks.' (aolys20_FN)

The third type of compound word formation is through lexicalized compounding. Compounding of words is very productive in Alorese. There are five types of compounding: the combination of N + N, as in (4); N + A, as in (5); N + V, as in (6); V + V, as in (7); and V + N, as in (8).

(4)	a.	*ana bapa*	/a.na ba.pa/	*ana*	+	*bapa*	'grandchild'
				child		father	
	b.	*kajo limang*	/ka.ʤɔ li.maŋ/	*kajo*	+	*limang*	'branch'
				tree		hand	
	c.	*kajo ape*	/ka.ʤɔ a.pɛ/	*kajo*	+	*ape*	'firewood'
				tree		fire	
(5)	a.	*onong mara*	/ɔ.nɔŋ ma.ra/	*onong*	+	*mara*	'thirsty'
				inside		dry	
	b.	*ata bea*	/a.ta bɛ.a/	*ata*	+	*bea*	'king; ruler'
				person		big	

	c.	*ekang tarang*	/ɛ.kaŋ ta.raŋ/	*ekang* garden	+	*tarang* bright	‘afternoon’
(6)	a.	*ekang otang*	/ɛ.kaŋ ɔ.taŋ/	*ekang* garden	+	*otang* shake	‘earthquake’
	b.	*laka gawe*	/la.ka ga.wɛ/	*laka* curse	+	*gawe* make	‘adultery’
	c.	*tukang malu*	/tu.kaŋ ma.lu/	*tukang* stomach	+	*malu* chew	‘hungry’
(7)	a.	*putor bale*	/pu.tɔr ba.lɛ/	*putor* turn	+	*bale* return	‘lie; to tell untruth’
	b.	*ukur inga*	/u.kur i.ŋa/	*ukur* measure	+	*inga* think	‘study’
	c.	*bua dagang*	/bu.a da.gaŋ/	*bua* sail	+	*dagang* trade	‘trade overseas’
(8)	a.	*pitong ilu*	/pi.tɔŋ i.lu/	*pitong* spit	+	*ilu* saliva	‘spit’
	b.	*maring ata*	/ma.riŋ a.ta/	*maring* say	+	*ata* person	‘invite’
	c.	*gena ikang*	/ge.na i.kaŋ/	*gena* search	+	*ikang* fish	‘fishing’

4.2.6 Summary on the phonology

Alorese has 17 phonemic consonants /p, b, t, d, k, g, ʔ, m, n, ŋ, w, f, s, h, ʤ, r, l/ and 5 vowels /i, u, ɛ, ɔ, a/. The voiced plosives /b, d, g/ cannot appear in coda position; nor can /h, ʤ, w/. The glottal stop /ʔ/ is not attested contrastively in the onset position and the velar nasal /ŋ/ cannot appear in the onset position. Alorese has a number of onset consonant clusters, but when a word with an onset consonant cluster is uttered in isolation, such as in wordlist, a phonetic schwa [ə] may be inserted. Some of the Alorese consonant clusters are the result of fossilized affixes. The majority of stems are disyllabic. Stress in Alorese falls on the penultimate syllable. Finally, complex words in Alorese are formed through reduplication, subject agreement, and compounding.

4.3 Noun phrases

The structure of the Alorese noun phrase (NP) is head-initial, in which the nominal head precedes its modifier. Table 4.31 below shows the slots of a noun phrase in Alorese.

Table 4.31: Alorese noun phrase template

NP slots:	Core	Subordinate	Final
Elements:	N (N) (PROP) (LOC) (NUM)	(Relative clause)	(DEM) (FOC) (PL)

The template shows all possible slots for a noun phrase and the elements that can be inserted in the slots. The core slot contains up to two nouns, and the head noun can be modified by either a nominal (N), property concepts (PROP), locatives (LOC), or numerals and quantifiers (NUM). The core slot of the NP can be followed by a relative clause, which is semantically subordinated. Then, there is a final slot which can contain demonstratives (DEM), focus particles (FOC), or plural word (PL). In this final slot, a demonstrative can be used together with either a focus particle or a plural word.

In this section, I discuss the structure of the Alorese NP based on each slot. First, I discuss the core modifiers in Section 4.3.1, including nominal modifiers (§4.3.1.1), property modifiers (§4.3.1.2), locative modifiers (§4.3.1.3), and numeral modifiers (§4.3.1.4). Following this, in Section 4.3.2, I discuss the subordinate slot, i.e. relative clauses. Finally, in Section 4.3.3, I discuss the phrase-final slot, which may contain demonstratives (§4.3.3.1), focus particles (§4.3.3.2), and a plural word (§4.3.3.3).

4.3.1 Core modifiers

4.3.1.1 Nominal modifiers

Alorese nouns can be modified by nominals, which include common nouns, referring to general entities, as in examples (9) and (10), and proper nouns (names), as in (11) and (12). The head nouns are followed by their nominal modifiers.

(9) *wai* *tana*
water soil
'ground water' (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)

(10) *uma* *gereja*
house church.MLY
'church house' (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)

(11) *lewo* *Lawar*
village Lawar
'Lawar village' (aolys_ST/DJA_2)

(12) *ama* *Jalas*
father Jalas
'Mr. Jalas' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

4.3.1.2 Property modifiers

In Alorese, nouns can be modified adnominally with property concepts, including words that translate as English adjectives. In the Alorese NP, property concepts modify the head nouns without any derivational morphology, as illustrated in examples (13) to (17).

(13) *tukang* *bea*
belly big
'big belly' (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)

(14) *bai* *meak*
baby red
'newborn baby' (aolfm_ST/MDP_1)

(15) *wai* *pelating*
water hot
'hot water' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

(16) *kondo* *miteng*
cloth black
'black shirt' (aolys_SR/HJW_1)

(17) *We* *bang* *seng* *wisu*
3PL carry money small
'They carried a little money.' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

Many Alorese property concepts contain fossilized suffixes *-k* or *-ng*, such as in *meak* 'red' or *pelating* 'hot'. This morphology is no longer productive and the forms are fossilized. The historic suffix *-k* means 'be like', while the historic suffix *-ng* is normally found on possessed body part nouns and kinship terms, thus marking inalienable possessed nouns. These fossilized suffixes in Alorese are discussed further in Section 4.4.

When body-part nouns are combined with property-denoting words or stative verbs, they form expressions that denote physical states, as illustrated in examples (18) to (20). When such a combination is used in a clause, the subject is the possessor of the body part noun, as illustrated in (21).

(18) *onong* *pelating*
Inside hot
'feverish' (aolys_FN)

(19) *tukang* *malu*
stomach chew
'hungry' (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)

(20) *matang* *date*
eye bad
'blind' (aolys_EWL/HJW_1)

(21) *go* *tobo* *go* *matang* *date*
1SG sit 1SG eye bad
'I sat down and my eyes had gone blind.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

4.3.1.3 Locative modifiers

Locative modifiers convey information on the topological relationship between the subject referent and an(other) object or a place. Alorese has two types of locative nouns: general locative nouns, and body-part nouns that can also express topological relations. Table 4.32 provides an overview of Alorese locative nouns.

Table 4.32: Alorese locative nouns

Locative nouns	Gloss	
onong	'inside'	
lolong	'top'	
laung	'bottom'	
ketuka/tuka	'middle'	
awing	'side'	
ipadai/papa	'side'	
wutung	'end; tip'	
Body part nouns used to express topological relations		
matang	'eye'	'front'
punung	'back'	'top'

In the NP, locative nouns appear posthead, as illustrated in examples (22) to (25).

(22) *utang* *onong*
forest inside
'inside the forest' (aolys_CV/MMS_1)

(23) *deki* *lolong*
bed above
'above the bed' (aolys_ST/LTF_9)

(24) *kajo* *papa* *kia*
tree side PROX\L
'next to this tree' (aolys_FN)

(25) *te* *dua* *kali* *te* *tobo* ***meja*** ***laung*** *te* *alang* *laheng*
MED\S two.MLY time.MLY MED\S sit table below MED\S voice NEG
'For the second time, (he) sat under that table quietly.' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

The use of body-part nouns to express topological relations is illustrated in examples (26) and (27) below. They also appear post-head when modifying the head noun.

(26) *pite* *matang*
door eye
'front of door' (aolfm_SR/MMN_1)

(27) *meja* *punung*
table back
'top of table' (aolys_FN)

These body-part nouns do not form fixed expressions with their head noun; they can also be employed with other nouns, such as *uma matang* 'front of house', *wato punung* 'top of rock', or *kandera punung* 'top of chair'. The body-part noun *punung* 'back' in the expression *meja punung* 'top of table' entails a view of the table as having a form like an animal, where the back of the animal is at the top.

4.3.1.4 Numeral modifiers

Alorese numeral modifiers and quantifiers follow the head noun. In this section, I provide examples of the use of number marking and numeral quantifiers in Alorese noun phrases. Table 4.33 below lists the Alorese cardinal numerals.

Table 4.33: Alorese cardinal numerals

#	Numbers	#	Numbers
1	*tou*	20	*ka-rua*
2	*rua*	21	*ka-rua ilak tou*
3	*talo*	22	*ka-rua ilak rua*
4	*paa*	30	*kar-talo*
5	*lema*	31	*kar-talo ilak tou*
6	*namu*	50	*kar-lema*
7	*pito*	100	*ratu tou/ ratu*
8	*buto*	102	*ratu tou rua*
9	*hiwa*	200	*ratu rua*
10	*kar-tou*	125	*ratu ka-rua ilak lema*
11	*kar-tou ilak tou*	1,000	*ribu tou/ ribu*
12	*kar-tou ilak rua*	1,983	*ribu ratu hiwa kar-buto ilak talo*
13	*kar-tou ilak talo*	2,000	*ribu rua*
14	*kar-tou ilak paa*	1,000,000	*juta tou/ juta*
19	*kar-tou ilak hiwa*	1,250,000	*juta tou ribu ratu rua kar-lema*

All basic numerals are inherited from PFL, except for the forms of *tou* 'one' and *buto* 'eight'. Historically, the form *tou* 'one' is an innovation in the Lamaholot and Kedang languages (Fricke, 2019:366). The form *buto* 'eight' is related to *butu* or *wutu* 'four' in the languages spoken on Flores, in which the form *butu rai* 'four many' is used to express the numeral form of 'eight' (Fricke, 2019:367; Klamer, 2011:42; Schapper & Klamer, 2014:329). The form *kar-* 'tens' is a loan from the Alor-Pantar languages, as *qar 'ten; tens' has been reconstructed for proto Alor-Pantar (PAP; Holton & Robinson, 2014:90). The origin of the Alorese additive marker *ilak* is still unclear. It is different from Lamaholot, which has *pulu* 'ten' (Nagaya, 2011:161; Nishiyama & Kelen, 2007:38). Nor is it identical to the Alor-Pantar additive operator *wali* 'fill, full, gather more' which signifies addition and appears between the tens and the units when forming numbers that is a set or series of ten (Schapper & Klamer, 2014:307). The terms for thousand and million are loan words from Malay *ribu* 'thousand' and *juta* 'million'.

The Alorese numeral *tou* 'one' can also function as indefinite marker, as illustrated in example (28).

(28) ***Bai*** ***anang*** ***tou*** *tide* *kali* *jendela.*
child small one stand LOC.LOW window
'A child was standing at the window.' (aolfm_FS/MFS_1)

In Alorese, it is also possible to have a nominal phrase with a numeral where the noun is omitted, as in (29).

(29) *Ada* *wato* *talo* *kemapak* ***tou*** *bea* ***rua*** *kihu.*
exist.MLY rock three lay one big two small
'There were three stones lying (on the ground), one (of them) was big, two (of them) were small.' (aolfm_SR/MFS_1)

Quantifiers take the same position as numerals, as illustrated in examples (30) and (31).

(30) *Kia* *te* ***muko*** ***labi*** *to?*
PROX MED\S banana many PART.MLY
'This (village) is rich in bananas, right?' (aolfm_ST/HMD_2)

(31) *we* *baang* ***seng*** ***wisu***
3PL carry money small
'He carried a little money.' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

When preceded by a unit of time, the numeral also follows the head noun, as illustrated in (32) and (33).

(32) *wulang* *pito*
month seven
'the seventh month (July)' (aolys_ST/RKB_8)

(33) *Na* *umur* ***tuung*** ***kertou.***
POSS age.MLY year ten
'His age is ten.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

4.3.2 Relative clauses

Alorese does not have a native relativizer. However, due to the influence of local Malay and the use of Indonesian, the relative marker *yang* 'REL.MLY' is quite productive in the language. In Alorese, the function of the Indonesian relativizer *yang* is similar to its use in Indonesian sentences.

In the Alorese NP construction, a relative clause follows the head. The subordinate slot precedes the final slot, which may contain either demonstratives, focus particles, discourse particles, or demonstratives, together with either a focus particle or a plural word. A relative clause can be used to relativize a subject NP, as illustrated in (34), an object NP, as illustrated in (35), and it can function as a nominalizer, as illustrated in (36).

(34) *g=ina* ***yang*** ***jaga*** ***uma*** *te* *pelae* *mene*
1SG.POSS=mother REL.MLY guard.MLY house MED\S run come
'My mother, who guards the house, comes running.' (aolfm_ST/RHM_1)

(35) *batubata* ***yang*** ***ada*** *kate* *ata* *lalu* *tahang* *kaing*
brick.MLY REL.MLY exist.MLY MED\Lperson CONJ.MLY hold.MLY already
'The bricks that are over there, were kept (by someone).'
(aolys_CV/HP_1)

(36) *Ada* ***yang*** ***Salang*** *ada* ***yang*** ***Kristen.***
exist.MLY REL.MLY Islam exist.MLY REL.MLY Christian
'There are Muslims (and) there are Christians.' (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

4.3.3 Phrase-final slots

4.3.3.1 Demonstratives

Demonstratives can be categorized into proximal, medial, and distal, listed in Table 4.34. In the NP construction, these demonstratives are not strictly modifiers, but they situate a noun in the discourse and fill the phrase-final slot.

Table 4.34: Demonstratives in Alorese

Gloss	Long form	Short form
PROX	*kia*	*ke*
PROX	*hang*	*ha*
MED	*kate*	*te*
DIST	*kewali*	*wali*

All demonstratives appear in both long and short forms. Alorese has two proximal demonstratives; the demonstrative *kia/ke* 'PROX' is the most frequently used, while *hang/ha* 'PROX' is not used very frequently. The medial demonstrative *kate/te* 'MED' is used to indicate something in between proximal and distal position. The distal demonstrative *kewali/wali* 'DIST' is used to indicate something in a relatively distant position. Both the medial and the distal demonstratives can also be used to point to something that is not visible to the speaker. In the Alorese NP, demonstratives follow the head noun, as illustrated in examples (37) to (43).

(37) *bapa* *kia*
father PROX\L
'this man' (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

(38) *manu* *ke*
chicken PROX\S
'this chicken' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(39) *aho* *hang*
dog PROX\L
'this dog' (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

(40) *ata* *ha*
person PROX\S
'this person' (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)

(41) *jadi* ***makanan*** ***te*** *habis*
so.MLY food.MLY MED\S finish.MLY
'So, that food is finished.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(42) *jadi* *kerajang* ***uma*** ***sigi*** ***kate***
so.MLY work house mosque MED\L
'So (he) works (building) that mosque.' (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

(43) *... gute* ***kali*** ***wali*** *seng* *ratu* *rua* *karlema.*
take LOC.LOW DIST\S money hundread two fifty
'... (they) take that two hundread and fifty (thousand rupiahs).'
(aolys_CV/HP_1)

Based on the current data set, there is no clear rule determining whether the demonstratives appear in long or short form. My consultants expressed that the difference between the long and the short form lies in politeness; for example, the demonstrative *kia* is considered more polite than *ke.*

4.3.3.2 Focus particle

Alorese has a focus particle *aru/ru* 'FOC' which functions as a contrastive focus marker, emphasizing the subject or object noun. It occurs following the head noun, as illustrated in examples (44) to (48).

(44) *ternyata* ***kemore*** ***aru*** *keluar*
evidently.MLY rat FOC exit.MLY
'Evidently, it was the rat went out.' (aolfm_FS/MDP_36)

(45) ***mo*** ***ru*** *molo* *hela* *tapo*
2SG FOC straight climb coconut
'You are the one who climbs the coconut tree.' (aolfm_ST/MFS_1)

The focus particle always occurs at the very end of the phrase, even when a modifier is placed between the head noun and the focus particle, as illustrated in (46).

(46) *ro* *hanya* *bangang* ***manu*** ***kali*** ***aru***
3PL just.MLY ask rooster LOC.LOW FOC
'He only asked for THAT rooster.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

When the focus particle is used together with a demonstrative, the focus particle is placed following the demonstrative, as illustrated in (47) and (48).

(47) ***manu*** ***ke*** ***aru*** *mo* *m-ate*
chicken MED\S FOC 2SG 2SG-bring
'THAT chicken you bring' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(48) ***kewae*** ***kate*** ***ru*** *n-ai* *jawa* *sampe* *hari* *kia* *bale* *lahe*
woman MED\L FOC 3SG-go Java until.MLY day PROX return NEG
'THAT woman went to Java (and) has not returned home.'
(aolys_ST/SKA_5)

4.3.3.3 Plural word

Alorese has a word *hire* 'PL' which expresses plurality. It occurs following the head noun, as illustrated in example (49). It cannot co-occur with numerals but can be combined with a classifier, as illustrated in (50) and (51) (Moro, 2018:184–185).

(49) *muko* *hire*
banana PL
'bananas' (aolys_ST/HMD_4)

(50) **mato* *anang* *namung* *hire*
frog small six PL
'Intended: six frogs' (Moro, 2018:184)

(51) *Klake* *te* *no* *n-ate* *kurajafa* *odang* *hire.*
man MED\S 3SG 3SG-bring cassava CLF.stick PL
'That man brings some cassavas.' (Moro, 2018:184)

When it is used with a demonstrative, the plural word occurs before the demonstrative. It can also be combined with a reduplicated noun, as in (52).

(52) *Ata* *r-eing* *ongong~ongong* *hire* *kate*
person 3PL.POSS RDP~bruise PL MED\L
'That person bruises' (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

4.4 Possessive constructions

In this section, I present three aspects of Alorese possessive constructions: phrases with a nominal possessor (§4.4.1), phrases with a pronominal possessor (§4.4.2), and traces of an alienability distinction in the Alorese possessive construction (§4.4.3).

4.4.1 Phrases with a nominal possessor

4.4.1.1 Noun + noun

The simplest possessive construction in Alorese is possession by a noun. In this construction, the order is the possessor noun followed by the noun that is possessed. There is no inflectional morphology involved. Examples (53) and (54) illustrate this construction.

(53) *aho* *kotong*
dog head
'(the) dog's head' (aolys_ FS/HJW_1)

(54) *taragang* *umang*
spider house
'(the) spider's web' (aolys_ EW/HJW_1)

4.4.1.2 Noun + possessive linker + noun

Another possessive construction also contains two nouns, but with a possessive linker in between. Examples (55) and (56) illustrate this construction.

(55) *ruha* *na'ang* *huar*
deer POSS horn
'(the) deer's horn' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(56) *ula* *na* *uma*
snake POSS house
'(the) snake's house' (aolys_ FN)

In the examples above, the possessive linkers *na'ang* and *na* 'POSS' are used in the same way and in the same context; the later is a short form of the former. Examples (57) to (60) below show that the use of the long form or the short form of *na'ang/na* 'POSS' does not relate to any apparent difference in meaning.

(57) *Ujang* *na* *kewae*
Ujang POSS woman
'Ujang's wife' (aolys_CV/MMS_5)

(58) *muko* *na'ang* *kamang*
banana POSS skin
'banana skin' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(59) *Kobar* *na'ang* *paman*
Kobar POSS uncle
'Kobar's uncle' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

(60) *gambeing* *na* *uma*
old.man POSS house
'(the) old man's house' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

The possessive linker *na'ang* 'POSS' is related to the possessive verb *n-a'ang* '3SG-have'. Examples (61) and (62) illustrate the use of the verbal predicate *n-a'ang*, which functions like Indonesian *punya* 'to have/possess'.

(61) *Raja* *Tanatukang* *kate* *ro* *n-a'ang* *kewae* *ata* *pito.*
king Tanatukang MED\L 3SG 3SG-to.have woman person seven
'King Tanatukang, he had seven wives.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_3)

(62) *ina* *nong* *n-a'ang* *anang* *namu* *kaing.*
mother 3SG 3SG-to.have child six already
'A woman, she has six children.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_3)

4.4.2 Phrases with a pronominal possessor

4.4.2.1 Pronoun + noun

Here, I discuss possessive constructions in which a pronoun is followed by a noun. In Alorese, personal pronouns can function as possessive pronouns when preceding a noun. Table 4.35 below lists the Alorese personal pronouns.

Table 4.35: Alorese personal pronoun

Gloss	Personal pronoun
1SG	*go*
2SG	*mo*
3SG	*ro/no*
1PL.EXCL	*kame*
1PL.INCL	*tite*
2PL	*mi*
3PL	*we*

The third person singular pronoun is either *ro* or *no* '3SG'. In the Pantar dialect, both forms are used for the third person pronoun, but *ro* '3SG' is more frequent. In contrast, the Alor dialect only uses the pronoun *no* '3SG'; the form *ro* in the Alor dialect is a locative marker (short for *oro* 'LOC'; see §4.8). Examples (63) to (66) below show how personal pronouns in Alorese can also function as possessive pronouns.

(63) *go* *uma*
1SG house
'my house' (aolys_ST/DJA_2)

(64) *kame* *basa* *daerah*
1PL.EXCL language region.MLY
'our local language' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

(65) *go* *kotong*
1SG head
'my head' (aolys_FN)

(66) *ro* *limang*
3SG hand
'his hand' (aolys_CV/MMS_7)

From these examples, it is evident that there is no difference in the possessive construction for alienable nouns, such as *uma* 'house' and *bahasa daerah* 'local language', and for inalienable nouns, such as *kotong* 'head' and *limang* 'hand'.

4.4.2.2 Pronoun + possessive linker + noun

When a pronoun acts as the possessor of a noun, the possessive linker that appears between the two may intake different forms. Firstly, all pronouns can combine with *na'ang* or *na* 'POSS', as in (67); secondly, they can also combine with a particular inflected verb. This is an irregular verb related to the possessive verb *-a'ang* 'to have', which occurs in different forms depending on the person of the subject (cf. §4.5.3). Examples (68) to (71) illustrate the different shapes of the possessive linker.

(67) *go/mo/ro/no/kame/tite/mi/we* *na'ang/na* *keluarga*
POSS family.MLY
'my/your/his/our/their family' (aolys_FN)

(68) *mo* *m-ong* *pao*
2SG 2SG-POSS mango
'your mango' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(69) *we* *r-a'ang* *tugas*
3PL 3PL-POSS job
'their job' (aolys_CV/MMS_5)

(70) *we* *re* *ina*
3PL POSS mother
'their mother' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

(71) *g-o'ong* *kawan*
1SG-POSS friend
'my friend' (aolys_ST/ITF_2)

A pronoun can either take only the possessive linker or only the inflected possessive verb, displayed in Table 4.36. As mentioned earlier, the inflected verb *n-a'ang* '3SG-to.have' has functions similarly to the Indonesian/Malay verb *punya* 'to have'. The third person singular possessive form of this inflected verb is the same essentially as the possessive linker *n-a'ang* '3SG-POSS' (introduced in §4.4.1.2). Since *na'ang* can combine with all pronouns and nouns, regardless of whether they are third person singular or not, *na'ang* is considered a default linker. However, *na'ang* is also the third person singular form of the verb *-a' ang* 'to have'. The inflected possessive verb is not completely regular (cf. §4.5.3). Table 4.36 below shows the paradigm of the Alorese pronominal possessive, which can be combined with either the default possessive linker or the possessive verb construction.

Table 4.36: Alorese possessive pronouns which can be combined with either the default possessive linker or the possessive verb construction

Pronouns		Possessive linker	Gloss	Possessive verb	Gloss
1SG	*go*	*na'ang/na*	'3SG-POSS'; 'POSS'	*g-o'ong*	'1SG-POSS'
2SG	*mo*			*m-ong*	'2SG-POSS'
3SG	*ro/no*			*n-a'ang, na*	'3SG-POSS'; ' POSS'
1PL.EXCL	*kame*			*m-ong*	'1PL.EXCL-POSS'
1PL.INCL	*tite*			*ta'ang*	'1PL.INCL-POSS'
2PL	*mi*			*m-ong; m-a'ang*	'2PL-POSS'
3PL	*we*			*r-a'ang, re*	'3PL-POSS'

From the table, we see that the inflected part of the verb changes according to the person or the subject of the verb. It is unclear what the stem vowel of the root is because it alternates between /a/ and /o/. The use of the inflected possessive verb *g-o'ong* '1SG-POSS' is illustrated in (72) and (73). It is not possible to use both the first-person pronoun and the possessive, as in **go go'ong uma* or **go go'ong ina* (intended as 'my house' and 'my mother', respectively).

(72) *g-o'ong* *uma*
1SG-POSS house
'my house' (aolys_FN)

(73) *g-o'ong* *ina*
1SG-POSS mother
'my mother' (aolfm_ST/MMN_109)

Examples (74) and (75) below illustrate the use of the inflected possessive verb for the second person singular pronoun.

(74) *mo* *m-ong* *pao*
2SG 2SG-POSS mango
'your mango' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(75) *mo* *m-ong* *kewae*
2SG 2SG-POSS woman
'your wife' (aolys_FN)

The third person singular pronoun *ro/no* '3SG' can take the default possessive *na'ang/na* 'POSS', illustrated in (76) and (77). When combining with a possessum, the pronoun *no* '3SG' can also use a possessive verb *neing* 'POSS', which also functions as the verb 'give' (§4.5.3), as in (78).

(76) *ro* *na'ang* *aho*
3SG POSS dog
'his dog' (aolfm_FS/MMN_1)

(77) *ro* *na'ang* *anang*
3SG POSS child
'her child' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(78) *no* *neing* *batas*
3SG POSS border
'its border' (aolys_ST/SKA_2)

The exclusive first person plural pronoun *kame* '1PL.EXCL' can take both the default possessive and the inflected verb *m-ong*, as illustrated in examples (79) and (80).

(79) *kame* *na* *ina*
1PL.EXCL POSS mother
'our mother' (aolys_CV/MS-04_18)

(80) *kame* *m-ong* *keluarga* *beda* *bapa.*
1PL.EXCL 1PL.EXCL-POSS family different.MLY father
'our family (has) different ancestors.' (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

For the plural pronouns *tite* '1PL.INCL' and *mi* '2PL', besides the default possessive linker *na'ang/na* 'POSS', the inflected possessive verb forms *t-a'ang* '1PL.INCL-POSS' and *m-a'ang* '2PL-POSS' are also used respectively.

(81) *tite* *t-a'ang* *uma*
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-POSS house
'our house' (aolys_FN)

(82) *mi* *m-a'ang* *uma*
2PL 2PL-POSS house
'your house (you have a house)' (aolys_FN)

The third person plural pronoun *we* '3PL' can use the default possessive linker *na'ang* 'POSS' as in (83) or the inflected possessive verb *r-a'ang* and its short form *re* 'POSS', as shown in examples (84) and (85).

(83) *we* *na'ang* *teing*
3PL POSS excrement
'their dirt' (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

(84) *we* *r-a'ang* *penampilan*
3PL 3PL-POSS appearance.MLY
'their appearance' (aolys_CV/MS_5)

(85) *we* *re* *ina*
3PL 3PL-POSS mother
'their mother' (aolys_CV/MS_8)

The inflected possessive verb does not display a clear vowel-initial verb root that takes a consonant as prefix, as the whole form varies between the persons. It is possible that this Alorese possessive verb shows some remnants of older inflections of the vowel-initial verb, which is no longer regular.

4.4.3 Traces of an alienability distinction

Alorese may once have had an alienability distinction, as its close ancestral language Western Lamaholot has/had an alienability distinction (Fricke, 2019:282). This distinction is no longer active in Alorese, but traces of it are still observable through the Alorese fossilized affixes. In the following sections, I discuss a historic possessive suffix *-ng* for inalienable nouns (§4.4.3.1) and a distinction in the third person pronoun when possessing alienable and inalienable nouns (§4.4.3.2).

4.4.3.1 Traces of a historic possessive suffix *-ng*

In Table 4.37 below, I provide a list of examples of nouns that end with a velar nasal and those that do not. If a noun appears in both columns, it means that both forms are attested.

Table 4.37: Examples of Alorese nouns ending with velar nasal

	with velar nasal	without velar nasal	Gloss
Kinship terms	*inang*	*ina*	'mother'
	amang	*ama*	'father'
	anang	*ana*	'child'
	opung	-	'uncle'
	kakang	-	'older sibling'
	aring	-	'younger sibling'
	-	*kewae*	'wife'
	-	*kelake*	'husband'
Body part nouns	*matang*	*mata*	'eye'
	tilung	*tilu*	'ear'
	nirung	-	'nose'
	wiwing	-	'lips'
	kotong	-	'head'
	limang	-	'arm'
	leing	-	'foot'
	teing	-	'stomach'
	kulung	-	'testicle'
	bamang	-	'chin'
	higung	-	'elbow'
	ubong	-	'bottom'
	kamang	-	'skin'
	-	*wewel*	'tongue'
	-	*tuho*	'breast'

From the table, it can be seen that some words can have both forms, while others only have one form, which may be with or without a velar nasal. Although today the two options are equivalent, historically, this was not the case, as will be demonstrated below.

In kinship terms, both options can appear in possessive constructions interchangeably, even when a possessive linker is used, as shown in examples (86) to (89).

(86) *go* *ina*
1SG mother
'my mother' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

(87) *go* *inang*
1SG mother
'my mother' (aolys_FN)

(88) *mo* *na'ang* *ama*
2SG POSS father
'your father' (aolys_FN)

(89) *mo* *na'ang* *amang*
2SG POSS father
'your father' (aolys_FN)

The kinship terms that end with velar nasal appear to be fossilized forms, consisting of a root and a suffix. If we trace these back to the reconstructed ancestral languages PMP (Blust & Trussel, 2016) and PFL (Fricke, 2019), we can ascertain the root for each word, as presented in Table 4.38 below. From the table, we see that the proto-forms do not have the final velar nasal, indicating that Alorese has added it.

Table 4.38: Alorese kinship terms and their reconstructed ancestral forms

Gloss	Alorese	PFL	PMP
'mother'	*inang*	*ina	*ina
'father'	*amang*	*ama	*ama
'child'	*anang*	*anak	*anak
'younger sibling'	*aring*	*vadi	*huaji
'older sibling'	*kakang*	-	*kaka

For body-part nouns, the use of the final velar nasal is almost always obligatory; only *matang* 'eye' and *tilung* 'ear' are also attested without the final *-ng*. In my corpus, the word *mata* only appears in the compound *ata mata puna* 'foreigner' (lit. 'person eye fruit') and the word *tilu* only appears in the compound *tilu date* 'deaf' (lit. 'ear bad'). Furthermore, there are two exceptions in *wewel* 'tongue' and *tuho* 'breast', which both appear only without final velar nasal in my corpus. In the Alor dialect, however, the term for 'tongue' is *weweleng* 'tongue'.

This final *-ng* can be traced back to a possessive suffix found in the closest ancestral language of Alorese, Lamaholot. Nasal suffixes to mark nouns as

possessed are found in all Lamaholot varieties to varying degrees. They do not always only mark inalienable possession. They are clearly possessive markers that go back to PMP *ni 'genitive marker' (Blust, 2013:449; Ross, 2002:36).

The use of the final velar nasal only occurs in kinship terms and body-part nouns, which are inalienable nouns. This indicates that in Alorese, it is likely that there was a grammatical distinction in the past for alienable-inalienable nouns. Fricke (2019:282) states that Western Lamaholot and Central Lamaholot have innovated an alienability distinction and not inherited this feature from any common ancestor. This alienability distinction is, however, no longer active in Alorese.

4.4.3.2 Distinction in the third person possessor pronoun

In Klamer (2011:54), it is suggested (based on a variety spoken in Alor Kecil) that Alorese still has a productive alienability distinction, expressed by different third person singular pronouns, namely *no* '3SG' for inalienable nouns and *ni* or *ne* '3SG' for alienable nouns, as shown in (90) and (91). This distinction has not been confirmed in any of the dialects I investigated, however.

(90)	*bapa*	*John*	*ni*	*uma*	
	father	John	3SG	house	
	'Bapa John's house'				(Klamer, 2011:52)

(91)	*aho*	*no*	*ning*	*kotong*	
	dog	3SG	POSS	head	
	'dog's head'				(Klamer, 2011:54)

4.5 Verbs

4.5.1 Overview

Alorese does not have verbal morphology marking tense, aspect, or modality. Verbs in Alorese encode their subject either as a free pronoun, as discussed in Section 4.5.2, or as a pronominal prefix combined with an optional additional pronoun, as discussed in Section 4.5.3. The only productive derivational morphological process in Alorese is reduplication, which is discussed in Section 4.5.4. Finally, verb serialization is quite common in Alorese and is discussed in Section 4.5.5.

4.5.2 Verbs without subject prefixes

All Alorese verbs can occur with free pronouns, given in Table 4.35, repeated here as Table 4.39. These pronouns can function either as subjects or objects. Example (92) illustrates the use of a free subject pronoun that is followed by the verb *gute* 'take'.

Table 4.39: Alorese personal pronouns

Gloss	Personal pronoun
1SG	*go*
2SG	*mo*
3SG	*ro/no*
1PL.EXCL	*kame*
1PL.INCL	*tite*
2PL	*mi*
3PL	*we*

(92) *We* *gute* *wulung.*
3PL take vegetables
'They took some vegetables.' (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

Table 4.40 below shows the paradigm of free subject pronouns combined with four verbs, *pana* 'walk', *tutu* 'say', *seru* 'see', and *gute* 'take'. These verbs cannot take any agreement marking morphology (i.e. pronominal prefix).

Table 4.40: Verbal paradigms with independent subject pronouns

Gloss	*pana* 'walk'	*titi* 'say'	*seru* 'see'	*gute* 'take'
1SG	*go pana*	*go tutu*	*go seru*	*go gute*
2SG	*mo pana*	*mo tutu*	*mo seru*	*mo gute*
3SG	*ro pana*	*ro tutu*	*ro seru*	*ro gute*
1PL.EXCL	*kame pana*	*kame tutu*	*kame seru*	*kame gute*
1PL.INCL	*tite pana*	*tite tutu*	*tite seru*	*tite gute*
2PL	*mi pana*	*mi tutu*	*mi seru*	*mi gute*
3PL	*we pana*	*we tutu*	*we seru*	*we gute*

Additional examples of verbs without agreement morphology in my corpus include *pelae* 'run', *akal* 'lie; cheat', *dila* 'lick', *turu* 'sleep', *paha* 'touch', *tobo* 'sit', *hemo* 'catch', *tide* 'stand', *bata* 'come', *geka* 'fall', *gere* 'climb', *bote* 'bring', and *danga* 'hear'.

A free pronoun subject can be part of an NP that also contains a demonstrative such as *te* 'MED\S' in (93).

(93)	*We*	*te*	*pelae*	*lelang*	*pai*	
	3PL	MED\S	run	make	what	
	'They were running doing what?'					(aolys_ST/SKA_4)

All vowel-final verbs may appear with a final nasal. There currently appears to be no definite rule for the occurrence of this final nasal on verbs. Examples (94) and (95) below illustrate the verb *turu* 'sleep' both with and without the final nasal.

(94)	*Go*	*turu*	*di*	*urang*	*onong.*	
	1SG	sleep	also	rain	inside	
	'I also sleep in the rain.'					(aolfm_ST/MMNW_1)

(95)	*Ro*	*turung*	*ke*	*apa*	*ke*	*lolong*	*kaing.*
	3SG	sleep	PROX\S	what.MLY	PROX\S	above	finish
	'He (already) sleeps on that thing.'						(aolys_FS/HJW_1)

This applies regardless of whether the pronoun is singular or plural, as in *we turung* 'they sleep' or *we turu* 'they sleep' or *tite turung* 'we sleep', and *tite turu* 'we sleep'.

4.5.3 Verbs with subject prefixes

The only verbal morphology found in my Alorese corpus are reduplication (cf. §4.5.4) and prefixes marking subject-verb agreement. Subject agreement prefixes are attested on verbs with a vowel-initial root; however, there are also vowel-initial verbs that only take a free pronoun and no subject prefixes, such as *akal* 'to lie; tell untruth', *inga* 'think' and *ota* 'shake'.

The subject prefixes for the vowel-initial verb-root are given in Table 4.41, alongside their corresponding free pronouns.

Table 4.41: Alorese free pronouns and subject prefixes

Gloss	Personal pronoun	Subject prefix
1SG	*go*	*k-*
2SG	*mo*	*m-*
3SG	*ro/no*	*n-*
1PL.EXCL	*kame*	*m-*
1PL.INCL	*tite*	*t-*
2PL	*mi*	*m-*
3PL	*we*	*r-*

Several verbs that combine regularly with subject prefixes are illustrated in Table 4.42. The presence of the prefix is mandatory; the free pronouns can optionally be added, and are thus given in brackets.

Table 4.42: Verbs that take subject-prefix

Gloss	*-ai* 'to go'	*-ate* 'to bring'	*-enung* 'to drink'	*-oing* 'to know'
1SG	*(go) k-ai*	*(go) k-ate*	*(go) k-enung*	*(go) k-oing*
2SG	*(mo) m-ai*	*(mo) m-ate*	*(mo) m-enung*	*(mo) m-oing*
3SG	*(ro) n-ai*	*(ro) n-ate*	*(ro) n-enung*	*(ro) n-oing*
1PL.EXCL	*(kame) m-ai*	*(kame) m-ate*	*(kame) m-enung*	*(kame) m-oing*
1PL.INCL	*(tite) t-ai*	*(tite) t-ate*	*(tite) t-enung*	*(tite) t-oing*
2PL	*(mi) m-ai*	*(mi) m-ate*	*(mi) m-enung*	*(mi) m-oing*
3PL	*(we) r-ai*	*(we) r-ate*	*(we) r-enung*	*(we) r-oing*

Other verbs that combine regularly with the prefixes but are not indicated in the table include the verb *-ang* 'to use; wear', *-ala* 'to follow', *-ekung* 'to grasp', *-ahu* 'to take water from a well', *-iang* 'await', *-ong* 'to add; with/and', and the intransitive verb *-olo* 'to go first'. These are the known verbs that take agreement prefixes. Examples (96) to (98) below illustrate the use of these verbs. Example (98) demonstrates that the free pronoun can be omitted.

(96) *Go* *k-ai* *oro* *kali.*
1SG 1SG-go LOC LOC.LOW
'I go over there.' (aolys_FN)

(97) *Mo* *m-ate* *roti* *kae* *wu.*
2SG 2SG-bring bread toward market
'You bring (the) bread to the market.' (aolys_FN)

(98) *Tobo* *m-enung* *rokok.*
sit 1PL.EXCL-drink smoke
'(We) sit, drinking, and smoking.' (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

Besides the verbs which combine regularly with prefixes as shown earlier, there are three verbs, *-ong/-ang* 'have' (cf. Table 4.36), *-ang* 'eat', and *-eing* 'give', that appear irregular when taking the subject prefix. The verb *-ang* 'eat' employs two different root forms: *(g)Vng* and *-aka*, as illustrated in examples (99) to (104).

(99) *Go* *kang* *wata.*
1SG 1SG.eat rice
'I eat rice.' (aolys_FN)

(100) *Mo* *goung* *pai* *ama?*
2SG 2SG.eat what father
'What do you want to eat, sir?' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(101) *Ro* *gang* *muko.*
3SG 3SG.eat banana
'He eats banana.' (aolys_SR/MMN_1)

(102) *Tite* *taka* *apa.*
1PL.INCL 1PL.INCL-eat what.MLY
'We eat something.' (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

(103) *Mi* *geing* *muko* *na'ang* *ihik.*
2PL PL.eat banana POSS seed
'You(pl) eat banana's seeds.' (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

(104) *Wawe* *ruha* *we* *bata* *raka* *lahe.*
pig deer 3PL come eat NEG
'The hog deer won't eat (our crops).' (aolys_ST/DJA_2)

This irregularity in the verb 'eat' is also found in Lamaholot, which has the roots *gaN* and *kan* 'eat' (Nishiyama and Kelen, 2007), which are similar to the Alorese root forms *(g)Vng* and *-aka* 'eat' (Klamer, 2011:62).

The verb *-eing* 'give' occurs very frequently with the third person singular pronoun prefix, as *n-eing* '3SG.give', illustrated in example (105). Sometimes, *r-eing* '3PL.give' is also used, as in (106). However, **k-eing* '1SG-give', **m-eing* '2SG-give/1PL.EXCL-give' and **t-eing* '1PL.INCL-give' are not attested. The form *neing* can occur with all subject pronouns (cf. §4.6.2.1). It occurs also as *ning* in the Pantar dialect or as *neng* in the Alor dialect.

(105)	*Ada*	*bai*	*hire*	*ata*	*namu*	*n-eing*	*biskue.*
	exist.MLY	child	PL	person	six	3PL-give	biscuit
	'There are six people giving biscuits.'						(aolfm_PM/MMN_1)

(106)	*We*	*r-eing*	*kacamata*	*hire.*	
	3PL	3PL-give	glasses.MLY	PL	
	'They give (the) spectacles.'				(aolys_FN)

The verb *-eing* 'to give' can also be used in possessive constructions, as in (107) and (108). The concepts 'to give' and 'to have' are related and in Alorese; the verb *-eing* 'to give' can also be used to convey possession. Its use in the possessive construction is a secondary use.

(107)	*no*	*n-eing*	*batas*	
	3SG	3SG-POSS	border	
	'its border'			(aolys_ST/SKA_2)

(108)	*we*	*r-eing*	*uma*	
	3PL	3PL-POSS	house	
	'their house'			(aolys_FN)

4.5.4 Reduplication

Reduplication is the only productive derivational process in Alorese. Nominal reduplication denotes plural diversity, as in *lawo-lawo* (RDP~village) 'villages' and *anang-anang* (RDP~child) 'children'. Verbal reduplication indicates iterative meaning, as in examples (109) and (110), and intensive meaning, as in (111).

(109) *Kia* *gena~gena.*
PROX\L ITER~search
'(He) looks for it (repeatedly). (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)

(110) *Ada* *ama* *tou* *ro* *pana~pana.*
exist.MLY father one 3SG ITER~walk
'There is a man walking (repeatedly).' (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)

(111) *... aho* *kia* *shh* *rama~rama.*
dog PROX\L shh INT~quiet
'.. this dog says, "shh be (very) quiet!" (aolfm_FS/MDP_1)

4.5.5 Serial verbs

Verb serialization is quite common in Alorese. In a serial verb construction, the first verb expresses an activity and it may indicate a causative. The second verb within the construction can express direction, motion, or purpose.

Examples (112) to (116) below show serial verb constructions in which the second verb expresses direction. In this construction, the second verb marks the direction of the physical action expressed by the first verb. Some of the most frequently used second verbs are *gere* 'go', *-ai* 'go', *bale* 'return', *mene* 'come', and *lodo* 'go.down'. The combination of *tide* 'stand' and *bale* 'return' in (114) meaning 'return home' is a common idiom in Alorese.

(112) *Go* *gute* *gere.*
1SG run go.up
'I run upwards.' (aolys_ST/SKA_6)

(113) *Lako* *plaing* *n-ai.*
civet run 3SG-go
'The civet cat runs upwards.' (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

(114) *Go* *di* *tide* *bale.*
1SG also stand return
'I also return (home).' (aolys_CV/MMS_5)

(115) *Ada* *kelake* *tou* *panang* *mene.*
exist.MLY man one walk come
'There is a man coming (here).' (aolfm_SR/MFS_1)

(116) *... tapo* *kali* *na'ang* *gokal* *lodo.*
coconut LOC.LOW POSS fall go.down
'... the coconut fell down.' (aolfm_SR/MMN_1)

Example (117) shows a serial verb construction where the second verb expresses a motion.

(117) *No* *teleng* *beo~beo.*
3SG hang ITER~swing
'He hangs swinging back and forth.' (Klamer, 2011:64)

In examples (118) and (119) below, the verb *tide* 'stand' is followed by a second verb expressing purpose, namely *sembeang* 'worship' and *seru* 'see', respectively. Here, the verb serialization expresses two aspects of an event: a posture and an activity. The meaning of the serial verb constructions in the examples below is that the activities are performed while standing.

(118) *Bapa* *Iwan* *tide* *sembeang.*
father Iwan stand worship
'Mister Iwan stands and prays.' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

(119) *Aleng* *klage* *ka* *no* *tide* *seru.*
hip tired PART 3SG stand see
'(His) hips were tired so he stood and looked around.' (aolys_ST/DJA_2)

Serial verb constructions can also be used to express causative meanings, mainly using the verb *lelang* 'make' as illustrated in examples (120) and (121), and the verb *neing* 'give' as illustrated in examples (122) and (123) (cf. §4.6.2.1). Here, the first verb is the one which expresses the causative element.

(120)	*Mo*	*lelang*	*bola*	*meja*	*ni*	*leing.*
	2SG	make	break	table.MLY	POSS	leg
	'You broke the table leg.'					(Klamer, 2011: 65)

(121)	*Mo*	*lelang*	*ota*	*wata!*	
	2SG	make	shake	corn	
	'Go grind the corn!'				(aolys_ST/HMD_5)

(122)	*No*	*neing*	*goka*	*mo*	*tapo.*
	3SG	give	fall	2SG.POSS	coconut
	'He dropped your coconut.'				(Klamer, 2011: 66)

(123)	*Mo*	*neing*	*tanam*	*ke*	*tapo.*
	2SG	give	to.plant.MLY	PROX\S	coconut
	'Go plant the coconut.'				(aolys_ST/HMD_4)

4.6 Clauses

4.6.1 Clause structure

Alorese has SVO word order, as illustrated in examples (124) and (125) below.

(124)	S	V	
	Ro	*taning*	
	3SG	cry	
	'He is crying.'		(aolys_FN)

(125)	S	V	O	
	We	*gute*	*wulung.*	
	3PL	take	vegetables	
	'They take some vegetables.'			(aolys_ST/SKA_4)

There is an alternative OSV word order that is used only when O is emphasized, as illustrated in example (126). In addition, there is a reversed VS order that is used for stylistic effect, as in (127).

(126)

O		S	V
Banang	*kate*	*ro*	*tahan.*
thread	MED\L	3SG	hold.back

'He holds back the thread.' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

(127)

	V	S	
... tiba-tiba	*kaluar*	*kolong*	*to*
suddenly	come.out.MLY	bird	one

'suddenly, out came a bird' (Klamer, 2011:71)

In what follows, I discuss two types of clauses in Alorese: verbal clauses (§4.6.2) and non-verbal clauses (§4.6.3).

4.6.2 Verbal clauses

4.6.2.1 Intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive clauses

In intransitive clauses, the encoding of active subjects appears identical to the encoding of non-active subjects. Examples (128) and (129) below illustrate the encoding of active subjects, while (130) and (131) show the encoding of non-active subjects (cf. §4.6.3 on non-verbal clauses). The subject always precedes the verb.

(128)

Bai	*anang*	*kate*	*kado.*
child	child	MED\L	jump

'The child jumps.' (aolfm_FS/MMN_1)

(129)

Anang	*kewae*	*daka*	*n-ai.*
child	woman	climb	3SG-go

'The girl went away.' (aolys_CV/MMS_1)

(130)

Sela	*te*	*bea*	*kaing.*
papaya	MED\S	big	PFV

'The papaya is already big.' (aolys_FN)

(131) *Ro* *taku* *di* *kaing.*
3SG afraid also already
'He is also afraid.' (aolys_SR/HJW_1)

In Alorese, there is no case marking on nouns and the only verbal marking is subject prefixes (cf. §4.5.3). The language lacks a dedicated passive construction and passive morphology (Klamer, 2011:70).

In transitive constructions, the grammatical relations of subject and object are expressed by constituent order, as shown in (132) and (133).

(132) *Aho* *kali* *dila* *na* *piping.*
dog LOC.LOW lick POSS cheek
'The dog licks his cheek.' (aolfm_FS/MFS_1)

(133) *Ata* *lelang* *uma* *sigi* *kia.*
people make house mosque PROX\L
'People are building the mosque.' (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

Examples (134) and (135) below illustrate the use of the verb *-eing* 'give' in a ditransitive construction. As mentioned in Section 4.5.3, the verb *-eing* 'give' appears irregular when taking the subject prefix and can also appear as *ning* or *neng*. The recipient precedes the patient, and neither the recipient nor the patient are marked.

(134) *Ada* *ina* *tou* *ning* *ina* *tou* *kali* *bunga.*
exist.MLY mother one give mother one LOC.LOW flower.MLY
'There is a woman (who) gives another woman flowers.'
(Moro & Fricke, 2020:133)

(135) *Gina* *ha* *neng* *bunga* *oro* *ina* *kafae* *ha.*
mother PROX\S give flower.MLY LOC mother girl PROX\S
'The woman gives flowers to the girl.' (Moro & Fricke, 2020:133)

Moro and Fricke (2020:132–136) provide a detailed description of the Alorese 'give' construction. It has been suggested that Alorese has three constructions to express 'give' events. The first is a monoverbal construction with only the verb 'give', as illustrated in examples (135) above, (140), and (141) below. The second construction, which is the most common, involves at least

two verbs, as illustrated in (136) and (137). The third construction is biclausal and involves a conjunction, as illustrated in (138) and (139).

(136) *... sorong bunga n-eng ina kafae ...*
pass.MLY flower.MLY 3SG-give mother girl
'... (she) gives flowers to the woman ...' (Moro & Fricke, 2020:134)

(137) *... n-ate bunga mene n-eng ina kafae ...*
3SG-carry flower.MLY come 3SG-give mother girl
'...(she) brings flowers and gives (them) to the woman ...'
(Moro & Fricke, 2020:134)

(138) *... yang tou ha n-ate bunga hau*
REL.MLY one PROX\S 3SG-carry flower.MLY come.downward

mung n-eng ina kafae ha.
while 3SG-give mother girl PROX\S
'...this one (woman) carries flowers, then (she) gives (them) to the woman.' (Moro & Fricke, 2020:135)

(139) *... tou ke bangang muko kali na*
one PROX\S ask banana LOC.LOW POSS

kawan kaing kawan te n-eing ro.
friend.MLY then friend.MLY MED\S 3SG-give 3SG
'...this one (woman) asks her firned for the banana then the friend gives (it) to her.' (Moro & Fricke, 2020:135)

In addition, it is also possible to have two object patients when one of the objects is a pronoun, illustrated in (140) and (141).

(140) *Ata n-ing ro wulu belaong ...*
person 3SG-give 3SG feather gold
'(A) person gives him a golden feather ...' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(141) *... go* *n-ing* *mo* *kia* *ke.*
1SG 3SG-give 2SG PROX\L
'... I give you this.' (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

4.6.2.2 Clauses with locational and instrumental phrases

Non-core arguments, such as locations and instruments are expressed as part of a prepositional phrase. Table 4.43 below lists locational prepositions in Alorese.

Table 4.43: Alorese locational prepositions

Prepositions	Gloss
oro	'LOC'
kali	'LOC.LOW'
keti	'LOC.HIGH'
klou/klau/lau	'seawards'
kerai/kre/ke	'mountainwards'

The preposition *oro* 'LOC' expresses a generic location 'on, at, in', while the prepositions *kali* 'LOC.LOW' and *keti* 'LOC.HIGH' express locations in lower and higher positions than the speaker, as illustrated in (142) to (144). The prepositions *klou* 'seawards' and *kerai* 'mountainwards' express locations towards the sea and towards the mountains from the perspective of the speaker, as in (145) and (146).

(142) *Go* *beta* *oro* *Wailawar*
1SG arrive LOC Wailawar
'I just arrived in Wailawar.' (aolys_FN)

(143) *Kame* *hama-hama* *pana* *m-ai* *kali* *ekang* *onong.*
1PL.EXCL together walk 1PL.EXCL-go LOC.LOW garden inside
'We walked together to the garden.' (aolys_ST/DJA_2)

(144) *Ojek* *k-ai* *keti* *Lamalu.*
ojek.MLY 1SG-go LOC.HIGH Lamalu
'(I ride) ojek to Lamalu.' (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

(145) *Mo* *lodo* *klou* *laung.*
2SG go.down sea.ward low.place
'You go down there (towards the sea)!' (aolys_FN)

(146) *Go* *k-ai* *kre* *lolong.*
1SG 1SG-go mountainwards high.place
'I go upwards (towards the mountain).' (aolys_FN)

The generic preposition *oro* 'LOC' can co-occur with any of the other prepositions, as illustrated in examples (147) to (150) below.

(147) *Wu* *oro* *kali* *doli.*
market LOC LOC.LOW astray
'The market over there is gone.' (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

(148) *Go* *pana* *oro* *keti.*
1SG walk LOC LOC.HIGH
'I walk (towards) there.' (aolys_FN)

(149) *Ata* *kakari* *yang* *salah* *paham* *oro* *klau* *tana* *Jawa*
person sibling REL.MLY wrong understand.MLY LOC seawards earth Java
'The siblings who had a misunderstanding were on Java.'
(aolys_ST/SKA_3)

(150) *Ada* *ruang* *teleng* *oro* *ke* *kajo* *kate.*
exist.MLY bee hang LOC mountainwards tree MED\L
'There is a hanging bee hive on the tree over there.' (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

All the prepositions presented in Table 4.43 above can also co-occur with postnominal locative expressions, such as *onong* 'inside', *lolong* 'above' and *laung* 'below', as illustrated in (151) to (153). Note that the noun can be left out, as in (153), and that the locative expressions can also occur without the prepositions, as in (154).

(151) *Go* *haing* *oro* *ekang* *onong.*
1SG sweep LOC garden inside
'I sweep inside the garden.' (aolys_FN)

(152) *oro* *deki* *lolong*
LOC raised.platform above
'on the raised platform' (aolys_FN)

(153) *Ada* *ruang* *kali* *laung.*
exist.MLY bee LOC.LOW below
'There are bees down there.' (aolys_FN)

(154) *...we* *gokal* *kolang* *onong*
3PL fall lake inside
'... they fell into the lake' (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

Additionally, there is locative noun *onong* 'inside' can also be found in other constructions. It can be combined with a nominal property resulting in a compound that has a new meaning, more like that of a stative verb. Some examples are *onong mara* lit. 'inside dry' which is translated as 'thirsty', and *onong belara* lit. 'inside ill' translated as 'evil, jealeous'.

The presence of the generic preposition *oro* 'LOC' is mandatory in clauses that express locational objects, but can be omitted in clauses that express directional objects. Compare example (155) to examples (156) and (157) below to see the semantic contrast between the presence and absence of *oro* 'LOC'.

(155) *Go* *oro* *kia.*
1SG LOC PROX\L
'I am here.' (aolys_FN)

(156) *Ro* *n-ai* *utang* *onong.*
3SG 3SG-go forest inside
'He goes into the forest.' (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

(157)	*Kame*	*pinda*	*dai*	*oro*	*kia.*
	1PL.EXCL	move.MLY	to go	LOC	PROX\L
	'We moved in here.'				(aolys_ST/HMD_4)

In example (155), *kia* 'PROX\L' is the locational object, while in examples (156) and (157), the objects *utang onong* 'forest inside' and *kia* 'PROX\L' are the directional objects of the verbs *n–ai* '3SG–go' and *dai* 'to go' respectively. Here, we see that *oro* 'LOC' is obligatory in expressing locational objects, but can be omitted in directional expressions.

There is also a connective *nong* 'and, with', from the verb *-ong* 'to add', which functions as a prepositional conjunction. It is used to mark instruments and comitatives as oblique (Klamer, 2011:80), illustrated in (158) and (159).

(158)	*Wata*	*emping*	*goreng*	*n-ong*	*minyak.*
	grain	chip	fry.MLY	3SG-with	oil.MLY
	'The chip grains are fried with cooking oil.'				(aolys_FS/HJW_1)

(159)	*Ama*	*to*	*tari*	*kajo*	*n-ong*	*peda.*
	man	one	cut.down	tree	3SG-with	machete
	'Someone cuts the tree with a machete.'					(Klamer, 2011:80)

4.6.2.3 Adjectival clauses

In Alorese, adjectives do not form a distinct word class. However, there are stative verbs which are translated as English adjectives. In adjectival clauses, the subject occurs with the predicate without a copula verb, as in (160) and (161), or with demonstratives, as in (162) and (163).

(160)	*Ro*	*belera.*	
	3SG	ill	
	'He is ill.'		(aolys_FN)

(161)	*Bai*	*ke*	*na*	*rata*	*gapal.*	
	child	PROX\S	POSS	hair	thick	
	'That child, her hair is thick.'					(aolys_FN)

(162) *Tale* *te* *ijong.*
rope MED\S green
'That rope is green.' (aolys_FN)

(163) *Apa* *kate* *date.*
what.MLY MED\L bad
'That thing is ugly.' (aolys_FN)

4.6.2.4 Aspect and temporality

Aspect and modality in Alorese are expressed by adverbs in either pre-predicate or post-predicate position. Table 4.44 below lists the three aspectual adverbs in Alorese.

Table 4.44: Alorese aspectual adverbs

Adverb	Meaning	Aspect	Position
kaing, ki	'already'	perfective	post-predicate
wati	'still, not yet'	imperfective	post-predicate, pre-predicate
mungga	'while'	progressive	post-predicate, clause-final

The post-predicate adverb *kaing* 'already' marks an event that has already happened, as illustrated in (164). The aspectual adverb *wati* 'still, not yet' can either express something that has not yet been done or something that is still ongoing. When *wati* is used to mark something that has not yet been done, it occurs in post-predicate position, as in (165). However, when it is used to mark something that is still in progress, it occurs in pre-predicate position, as in (166). The aspectual adverb *mungga* 'PROG' occurs in post-predicate position and is placed clause-finally. It often occurs with dynamic verbs, such as *gang* 'eat', as illustrated in (167).

(164) *Lera* *here* *kaing.*
sun set already
'The sun has already set.' (aolys_FN)

(165) *Go* *habo* *wati.*
1SG bathe not.yet
'I haven't taken a bath.' (aolys_FN)

(166) *Go* *wati* *habo.*
1SG still bathe
'I am still taking a bath.' (aolys_FN)

(167) *Ume* *ape* *gang* *mungga.*
house fire eat PROG
'The house is on fire (lit. eaten by fire).' (Klamer, 2011:70)

Tense is not marked on the verb in Alorese, but there are temporal adverbs, as shown in Table 4.45. These adverbs occur either before or after the subject, as illustrated in examples (168) to (172) below. The adverb *nu* 'earlier' and *wiang* 'yesterday' can co-occur, as in (172).

Table 4.45: Temporal adverbs in Alorese

Temporal adverb	Meaning
nu	'earlier'
nihu	'now, today'
wiang	'yesterday'

(168) *Jadi* *ro* *nu* *boa* *Ma'ruf* *ke.*
so 3SG earlier hit Ma'ruf PROX\S
'So, earlier, he hit Ma'ruf.' (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

(169) *Bai* *anang* *nihu* *te* *gokal.*
child child now MED\S fall
'Now the child falls.' (aolfm_FS/MFS_1)

(170) *We* *wiang* *kate* *baku* *luka* *kate.*
3PL yesterday MED\L RECP.MLY wound.MLY MED\L
'Yesterday, they hit each other.' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

(171) *Wiang* *kame* *urus* *na* *materai* *hire* *kaing.*
yesterday 1PL.EXCL work.MLY POSS stamp PL already
'Yesterday, we already took care of the stamps.' (aolys_VC/HP_1)

(172) *We* *nu* *wiang* *arisan* *to?*
3PL earlier yesterday social.gathering PART.MLY
'Yesterday, they were having social gathering, right?'
(aolys_CV/MMS_4)

4.6.3 Non-verbal clauses

Non-verbal clauses are clauses that do not have verbs, but which consist of at least a subject and a predicate. In the following, I discuss such clauses in Alorese, which include equational clauses with nominal predicates (§4.6.3.1) and locational clauses with prepositional phrases as the predicates (§4.6.3.2).

4.6.3.1 Equational clauses with nominal predicates

Examples of equational clauses with a nominal predicate are given in (173) and (174). The subject always precedes its predicate.

(173) *Go* *narang* *Yunus.*
1SG.POSS name Yunus
'My name is Yunus.' (aolys_FN)

(174) *No* *te* *go* *leing* *lahe*
3SG MED\S 1SG.POSS foot NEG
'That is not my leg.' (Klamer, 2011:81)

4.6.3.2 Locational clauses with prepositional phrases as predicates

In this type of verbless clause, the prepositional phrases can contain any preposition from Table 4.43 above. Examples (175) to (177) below illustrate locational clauses with a prepositional phrase as the predicate.

(175) *Go* *oro* *kate* *Alor Kecil.*
1SG LOC MED\L Alor.Kecil
'I am at (that) Alor Kecil.' (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

(176) *Kame* *kate* *kapal* *lolong.*
1PL.EXCL MED\L ship above
'We are/were on the ship.' (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

(177) *Wai* *Kalibanung* *kali* *lolong.*
water Kalibanung LOC.LOW above
'Kalibanung village is (located) up there.' (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

In this construction, it is also possible to insert a copula, *ada* 'exist.MLY', which is a Malay loanword, between the subject and the complement, compare (178) below with (175) above.

(178) *Jadi* *we* *ada* *oro* *kia* *uma.*
so.MLY 3PL exist.MLY LOC PROX\L house
'So, they are in(side) this house.' (aolys_ST/SKA_5)

4.6.4 Summary on the clauses

Alorese has SVO constituent order. The grammatical relations of subject and object are expressed by the order of constituents. There is no dedicated morphology to mark passive constructions. Peripheral arguments, such as locations, instruments, and comitatives are expressed using prepositional phrases. In addition, tense is not marked, while aspect and mood are expressed lexically by predicate adverbs. In adjectival clauses, the subject can take either a bare predicate or demonstrative. In equational clauses that have nominal predicates, the subject always precedes its predicate and no copula is used. However, verbless locational clauses can have the copula *ada* 'exist.MLY'.

4.7 Sentence types and clause combinations

In this section, I discuss negative sentences (§4.7.1), imperatives (§4.7.2), and interrogatives (§4.7.3). In addition, in the last part of this section (§4.7.4), I discuss combinations of clauses.

4.7.1 Negation and prohibition

The Alorese negator is *lahe* 'NEG' which negates predicates and always appears in clause-final position, as illustrated in examples (179) and (180) below. The negator *lahe* is also used to negate nominal predicates, as in (181).

(179) *Go* *k-oing* *lahe.*
1SG 1SG-know NEG
'I don't know.' (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

(180) *Wu* *terkenal* *aman* *lahe,* *pindah* *mene* *ke* *kame.*
Market known.MLY safe.MLY NEG move.MLY come PROX\S 1PL
'The market was known to be unsafe, so we moved here.'
(aolys_ST/SKA_1)

(181) *Ternyata* *mato* *lahe.*
apparently.MLY frog NEG
'Apparently, (it was) not the frog.' (aolfm_FS/MDP_1)

When *lahe* is combined with the aspectual verb *kaing* 'already', this combination creates the meaning 'not anymore', as illustrated in (182). There is also a negative modality verb *gehing* 'not want', as shown in example (183).

(182) *Barang* *perenta* *Belanda* *lahe* *kaing.*
goods.MLY government.MLY Dutch.MLY NEG already
'The Dutch government was not (there) anymore.' (aolys_ST/SKA_1)

(183) *Ro* *gehing.*
3SG not.want
'He refuses.' (aolys_FN)

In Alorese, prohibition is expressed with the negative verb *haki/aki* 'don't' which appears in pre-predicate position, as illustrated in (184).

(184) *Apa* *kali* *tona* *na'ang,* *aki* *gute.*
what.MLY LOC.LOW breadfruit POSS don't take
'That breadfruit, don't take (it).' (aolys_FN)

4.7.2 Imperatives

Imperative sentences do not use specific morphosyntactic means, but the syntactic subject can be omitted, as shown in examples (185) to (187); it can also be present, as in (188).

(185) *Ning* *gia!*
give already
'Give it (to him) now!' (aolys_FN)

(186) *Giha* *ro!*
step.on 3SG
'Step on it!' (aolys_FN)

(187) *Gato* *tale* *kali!*
cut rope LOC.LOW
'Cut that rope!' (aolys_FN)

(188) *Mo* *mene* *ke!*
2SG come PROX\S
'You come here!' (aolys_FN)

In (185), both the subject and the object are omitted. In (186), *ro* '3SG' indicates the object and so does *tale* 'rope' in (187). Using a pronoun for the addressee in an imperative, as in (188), is considered polite in Alorese. The adverb *gia* 'already', as in (185), is different from the aspectual adverb *kaing* 'already' (§4.6.2.3); *gia* is only used in imperatives, while *kaing* 'already' is used mostly in declaratives.

4.7.3 Questions

Polar questions (yes-no questions) in Alorese have an identical construction to declaratives. Several question particles may be used, such as Malay particles *ko* 'PART.MLY' and *to* 'PART.MLY', as illustrated in examples (189) and (190).

(189) *Nona* *ke* *tutup* *ko?*
lady.MLY PROX\S close.MLY PART.MLY
'Is the lady (her store) closed?' (aolys_CV/MMS_5)

(190) *Kia* *te* *muko* *labi* *to?*
PROX\L MED\S banana many PART.MLY
'This (village) is rich in bananas, right?' (aolfm_ST/HMD_2)

Alorese has six interrogative words, all of which can appear as one-word utterances. Table 4.46 below lists the question words in Alorese.

Table 4.46: Question words in Alorese

Question word	Meaning
pai	'what'
hewai aru, haru	'who'
pira	'how much'
nang ga, namengga	'how, why'
oro ga, orga	'where'
oro pira, ere pira, arpira	'when'

The use of the question word *pai* 'what' is shown in examples (191) to (193). In (191), the question word expresses the subject of a nominal clause and can occur before or after the predicate. When it is the direct object, the question word *pai* cannot appear clause-initially, as shown in (192b). Nor can it appear clause-initially when taking a nominal modifier, as in (193).

(191) a) *Ke* *pai?*
PROX\S what
'What is this?'

b) *Pai* *ke?*
what PROX\S
(aolys_FN)

(192) a) *Goung* *pai?*
eat what
'What do you eat?'

b) **Pai* *goung?*
what eat
(aolys_FN)

(193) a) *Marga* *pai?*
clan.MLY what
'What is your clan?'

b) **Pai* *marga?*
what clan
(aolys_CV/MMS_6)

The question word *hewai aru* lit. 'who FOC', translated as 'who', contains a focus marker *aru* 'FOC' which marks the nominal referent. This question word may appear in a short form as *haru* 'who'. It occurs either in clause-final position, as in (194) and (195) which express predicative uses, or in clause-initial position, as in (196) and (197) which express pronominal uses.

(194) *Na* *haru?*
POSS who
'What is (your name)?' (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

(195) *Bai* *kali* *haru?*
child LOC.LOW who
'Who is that child?' (aolys_FN)

(196) *... haru* *na* *dapa?*
who POSS catch.MLY
'...who catches (it)?' (aolys_CV/MMS_8)

(197) *... haru* *bo* *go* *pao* *ke?*
who then 1SG feed PROX\S
'... then who would feed me?' (aolys_CV/MMS_6)

The question word *pira* 'how much' occurs clause-finally when used to ask about quantity, as illustrated in example (198). When used to pose a question, it cannot appear clause-initially, as illustrated in (199) and (200). *Pira* can also function as a quantifier denoting 'several; few; little', as shown in (201).

(198) *Mi* *kate* *pira?*
2PL MED\L how.much
'How many people?' (aolys_CV/MMS_2)

(199) a. *Weling* *pira?*
expensive how.much
'How expensive (is the price)?'

b. **Pira* *weling*
how.much expensive
(aolys_FN)

(200) a. *Ata* *pira?*
people how.much
'How many people?'

b **Pira* *ata?*
how.much people
(aolys_FN)

(201) *Pira* *te* *tobo* *te.*
how.much MED\L sit MED\L
'Several (frogs) are sitting.' (aolys_FN)

The question word *namengga ~ nangga* 'how; why' and *oro ga* lit. 'LOC where', translated as 'where', both contain a clitic *ga* 'PART' which marks interrogatives. Alorese uses the same question word *namengga ~ nangga* 'how; why' to express both the reason for something ('why'), as in (202), and the way to do something ('how'), as in (203). The use of *oro ga* 'where' is shown in example (204).

(202) *Nang.ga* *kate?*
why.part MED\L
'Why is that?' (aolys_CV/MMS_1)

(203) *Ada* *tite* *kate* *kadire* *nang.ga?*
exist.MLY 1PL.INCL MED\L language how.part
'How do we say it in our language?' (aolys_CV/MMS_1)

(204) *Ama* *mo* *m-ai* *oro ga?*
father 2SG 2SG-go LOC where
'Father, where are you going?' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

The question word *oro pira ~ ere pira ~ arpira* lit. 'LOC how.much' is used to inquire about time, and is translated as 'when', illustrated in example (205).

(205) *Arpira* *go* *kewae* *kate* *batang?*
when 1SG woman MED\L come
'When will my wife come home?' (aolys_FN)

4.7.4 Clause combinations

This section describes how clauses in Alorese are combined. Most clause combinations in Alorese express coordination, using clause-initial linking words/conjunctions, which are listed in Table 4.47.

Table 4.47: Alorese linking words

Linking words	Meaning
mu, ma	'then'
bo, ba	'then'
ka	'when; so'

The linking word *mu/ma* 'then' connects clauses that express sequential events, as illustrated in examples (206) and (207).

(206) *Plaeng~plaeng ha n-ai mu ro masuk klou kolang onong.*
RDP~run PROX/S 3SG-go then 3SG enter.MLY seawards lake inside
'(He) ran upwards and then he fell into the lake.' (aolys_FS/HJW_1)

(207) *Wanti mo masuk tas miteng kali onong kali ma*
Wanti 2SG enter.MLY bag black LOC.LOW inside LOC.LOW then
'Wanti, go inside (the house), find the black bag, then

gute lema.
take five
take five (thousand rupiahs). (aolys_CV/MMS_5)

The linking word *bo/ba* 'then' also expresses sequence, as illustrated in examples (208) to (210). In this construction, the linking word *bo* mostly, but not always, occur after the aspectual adverb *kaing* 'already'.

(208) *Ada meja kemapa ba lampu ada teleng keti lolong.*
exist.MLY table.MLY shoulder then lamp exist.MLY hang LOC.HIGH above
'There is that table, the lamp hangs above it.' (aolfm_PM/MMN_1)

(209) *... pelae ke oto kaing bo ro pohi~pohi bai kate.*
run PROX\S car already then 3SG RDP~tie child MED\L
'... (he) came with a car, and then he tied up that child.'
(aolys_CV/MMS_6)

(210) *... ro haleng ke tana wai sampai muang namu kaing bo*
3SG dive PROX\S earth water until.MLY times six already then
'... he dives into the water six times already, and then

ro bakung matang seru ada tapo keti lolong.
3SG RECP.MLY eye see exist.MLY coconut LOC.HIGH above
he opens his eyes (and) sees there are coconuts above (the water).'
(aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

The linking word *ka* 'when; so' connects clauses that express either temporal coordination, as illustrated in example (211), or consequences as in (212).

(211) *... go taka wata ka ada klau ata karejang umasigi.*
1SG 1SG.eat grains when exist.MLY seawards person work mosque
'...I ate some rice when there were people working on the the mosque down there.' (aolys_ST/SKA_4)

(212) *Kobar kia mare na taing ka mene watang.*
Kobar PROX\L ill POSS stomach so come beach
'Kobar has stomach ache so (he) went to the beach.' (aolfm_ST/MFS_1)

Another type of clause combination in Alorese is a complement clause. In this construction, one clause in a sentence functions as the argument (either subject or object) of another clause. One example of this type of clause combination can be found in direct speech, as illustrated in (213).

(213) *Jadi go nu maring, "Bapa lahe na hope ni ha!"*
so.MLY 1SG earlier say father NEG POSS buy PROX.MLY PROX\S
'So, I said, "Father, don't you want to buy this!" ' (aolys_CV/HP_1)

The only subordinate clauses in Alorese are relative clauses using the relativizer *yang* 'REL.MLY' which is a loanword from Malay. Example (214) below shows how *yang* 'REL' is used in a relative construction.

(214) *Ada uma tou yang ape gang.*
exist.MLY house one REL.MLY fire eat
'There is a house that is on fire (lit. eaten by fire).' (aolfm_SR/MDP_1)

Furthermore, other Malay conjunctions are frequently used, including *kalau* 'if' which expresses a condition, *jadi* 'so that' which introduces a purpose, *karena* 'because' which has a causal function, and *tapi* 'but' which expresses contrast. Examples (215) to (218) below illustrate the use of these linkers.

(215) *Kalau mo tandatangan oro kuitansi, mo pate seng sisa.*
if.MLY 2SG signature.MLY LOC receipt.MLY 2SG pay money rest.MLY
'If you sign on the receipt, you pay the rest of the money.'
(aolfm_SR/MDP_1)

(216) *Go gehi, jadi mo lodo mai.*
1SG not want so 2SG down 2SG-go
'I refused, therefore you left.' (aolfm_ST/MMN_1)

(217) *Tiba-tiba bapa guru ke beta guo go ko ekang*
suddenly.MLY father teacher PROX\S come call 1SG PART garden
'Suddenly, the teacher called me to come into the garden

onong karena ada kebutuhan
inside because.MLY exist.MLY needs.MLY
because there were necessities.' (aolys_ST/DJA_1)

(218) *Kame keluarga sakali kumpul oro kate tapi*
1PL.EXCL family.MLY all get.together.MLY LOC MED\L but.MLY
'All of our family got together there, but

kame seng sampai lahe.
1PL.EXCL.POSS money arrive.MLY NEG
our money was not enough.' (aolys_ST/DJA_3)

4.8 Summary and conclusions

In this chapter, I have presented an outline of the grammar of the Alorese language. Alorese has a medium-sized phoneme inventory. There are only small number of distributional restrictions for phonemes. The language has mostly disyllabic words which can contain either open or closed syllables in both medial and final position. Stress falls primarily on the penultimate syllable, except when the penultimate syllable is reduced causing the stress to fall on the final syllable. The Alorese NP is head initial and the core slot can be filled by nominals, properties, locations, and numerals. The subordinate slot of the NP can be filled by a relative clause and its final slot can be filled by either a demonstrative, focus marker, or plural word. There is no inflectional morphology in Alorese possessive constructions. A possessive linker may be

used between the nouns when expressing possession. There are traces of an alienability distinction for nouns, which can be observed in the fossilized possessive suffix *-ng*. Some Alorese verbs encode their subject as a free pronoun, as in *go pana* 'I walk', while other verbs encode their subject as a pronominal prefix combined with an optional additional pronoun, as in *we r-enung* 'they drink'. The only active derivational process in Alorese is reduplication. Meanwhile, verb serialization is fairly common. The grammatical relations of subject and object are expressed by constituent order. Tense is not marked, and aspect and mood are expressed through adverbs. Negative expressions mainly use one negator, *lahe* 'NEG'. Furthermore, clause combinations in Alorese mostly express coordination, using clause-initial linking words or conjunctions.